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The American Child

VOL. II

MAY, 1920—FEBRUARY, 1921

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National Child Labor Committee
Incorporated to promote the interests of children
105 EAST 22D STREET
NEW YORK CITY

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The American Child

VOLUME II

MAY, 1920—FEBRUARY, 1921

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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

CHILDHOOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

We commend to our readers the concluding paragraph of "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice," by Professor Stephen Leacock of McGill University. Professor Leacock sees clearly the maladjustment between the social and economic order—in which there is considerable disorder—and the human needs, demands and aspirations of people. But how to remedy the situation? Professor Leacock, in his thoughtful, suggestive little book, takes the middle road between socialism and laissez-faire, and his final word is this:

> "The safety of the future lies in a progressive movement of social control alleviating the misery which it can not obliterate and based upon the broad general principle of equality of opportunity. The chief immediate direction of social effort should be towards the attempt to give to every human being in childhood adequate food, clothing, education and an opportunity in life. This will prove to be the beginning of many things."

We suppose that Professor Leacock would include health among the essentials of a democracy of childhood—equality of opportunity—and construe opportunity to include opportunity for development of all inner capacities and potentialities. He has promised to write for this magazine an article amplifying the paragraph which we have quoted.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR

The Fifteenth National Conference on Child Labor was held in New Orleans, Wednesday, April 14, in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work. Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, presided at the forenoon and afternoon sessions, which were held in Association of Commerce Hall. The general theme of these sessions was "The National Child Labor Committee at Work." Addresses were given by members of the Com-

mittee's staff, and each was followed by interesting discussion from the floor. Seldom, if ever, has a National Conference on Child Labor been characterised by so wide a variety of viewpoints, different but all essentially harmonious, or by the presentation from both the platform and the floor of so many different but related aspects of the child labor problem. It is not too much to say that the New Orleans Conference was one of the most satisfactory and successful in the history of the National Child Labor Committee. Fully convincing was the evidence that the Committee is far from the end of its usefulness, not only in the expansion of its work to include every phase of child welfare, but in the prosecution of its main effort, the regulation and eventual abolition of child labor, to which, it should be said, its diversified activities are all contributory.

At the morning session Wiley H. Swift, specialist in law and administration, discussed the results of long years of educating the public concerning child labor and the changing attitude of employers, who because of both humanitarian and business considerations are becoming more and more willing to co-operate in child labor reform. He deprecated belligerency in child labor reform and urged taking full advantage of the new attitude of employers—in a word, his message was co-operation. Miss Mabel B. Ellis, specialist in juvenile courts, spoke on "The Relation of Juvenile Courts to Child Labor Law Enforcement"; Dr. Harold H. Mitchell, specialist in health, on "Health Standards for Working Children"; and Charles E. Gibbons, specialist in agriculture, on "Child Labor and the Tenant Farmer."

At the afternoon session, Dr. Clopper told of the purposes and methods of state child welfare surveys such as the Committee has made in Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama and Kentucky and the one it is now making in Tennessee. Miss Gertrude H. Folks, specialist in schools, discussed "The Rural Child and Compulsory School Attendance." Miss Josephine J. Eschenbrenner, membership secretary of the Committee, spoke on "Child Welfare and the Citizen's Responsibility," and Raymond G. Fuller, managing editor of THE AMERICAN CHILD, on "The Psychological Approach to the Child Labor Problem." Several of the addresses given at these sessions, it is expected, will be printed in the next number of THE AMERICAN CHILD.

On Wednesday evening there was a joint session with the opening general meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, delivered an address on "The Faith of a Social Worker," the presidential address of the National Conference of Social Work. Miss Sally Lucas Jean, director of field work, Child Health Organization of America, spoke on "Creating a Demand for Health." Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, was to have spoken on "The American Child: Sound in Mind and Body," but was prevented from being present by disruption of railroad service. Dr. Adler addressed the social workers Monday evening, April 19, pointing out the importance of national idealism to American life, emphasising the importance of the welfare of the rural population to national destiny and declaring that the great task now before the National Child Labor Committee has reference to the problem of rural child labor.

The morning session, Monday, April 19, of the Division on Children, National Conference of Social Work, was a joint session with the National Child Labor Committee. Dr. Clopper presided. Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, special agent of the National Child Labor Committee, told "How Alabama Has Organised Her Work for children," and Mr. Swift spoke on "Lessons in Child Welfare Work from North Carolina." Hastings H. Hart, director, Child Helping Department, Russell Sage Foundation, discussed "The Place of Surveys in Framing State Legislation." The general theme of this session was "Children's Codes."

KENTUCKY

To the Governor and Legislature of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, greetings and congratulations! Your record of accomplishment for the children of Kentucky in the legislative session just closed is worthy of all praise. It is a shining example to other states. We of the National Child Labor Committee are proud of our own part—the assistance we tried to and are told we did render you through our study of child welfare conditions and problems in your state. The accomplishment was yours, however, and so was the spirit. You have done much to make childhood in Kentucky a larger and a richer realm. Once more, greetings and congratulations!

We confidently predict that Tennessee also will shortly establish an enviable record in child welfare legislation. The children's code idea having taken strong root in the minds of Governor Roberts, other state officials, and leaders in social work, the National Child Labor Committee was recently invited into the state to make a study of child welfare conditions and problems like the study made last year in Kentucky. The Committee's staff of specialists has been engaged in this study since January and will complete its field work in a few weeks. A report will be made later to the State Child Welfare Commission which the Governor has appointed. The governor, ex-officio, the heads of the five state departments of health, education, charities, agriculture and labor inspection, the president of the University of Tennessee, and representatives of various social welfare organisations are members of the Commission. Albert Williams, state superintendent of public instruction, is chairman of the Commission; C. C. Menzler, secretary of the state board of charities, is secretary. Increased interest in health matters has been aroused in Tennessee by the recent visit of Miss Sally Lucas Jean, field director of the Child Health Organization of America, who spoke before the Tennessee Conference of Social Work at Johnson City and before social and civic clubs in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Franklin and Memphis.

TENNESSEE

The *Courier-Citizen* of Lowell, Massachusetts, is desirous of information as to just how and how much a boy is injured by going to work at the age of 14. Says this journal editorially: "Either factory life does or does not hurt boys between 14 and 16 more than absence from such toil would do. Which is it? It won't suffice to leave it altogether to the sentimentalists, and it won't be safe either to leave it to the crusty old chap who reminds you that he went to work at nine years of age and it didn't hurt him a bit." We understand and share the desire for very precise data as to the effects of factory work, and other forms of child labor, on the bodies and minds of children. Provided, of course, that ignorance of these effects is not implied. There is need of data based on scientific measurement of specific effects with reference to specific causes and to the different age periods of childhood, but that is not saying that

EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR

common sense and knowledge of the physical, psychical and educational needs of children leave us without a logical basis for opposition to child labor and advocacy of a higher age limit than 14. Physiological science and psychological science proclaim the evil of child labor. They tell us what effects follow what causes, and if the causative factors are present in child labor the effects may be deduced. But the kind of information the Lowell *Courier-Citizen* wants, and the kind the National Child Labor Committee wants, is exactly the kind that will be available when the results of the study conducted in Cincinnati for a number of years by Mrs. Helen T. Woolley are published in full. This is a study of working children by use of physical and mental tests and measurements. It will tell just what has happened to the bodies and minds of children who have gone to work, and in what degree, and show the deviations from normal, in comparison with the findings for children who have stayed in school.

Previous studies of child labor and its attendant conditions have proved conclusively that child labor does menace physical and mental development and health, that it is a large contributing factor in juvenile delinquency, and that it is one of the principal causes of irregular attendance at school, and any intelligent person knows that child labor is evil if for no other reason than that it deprives children of play-life and schooling. But studies of child laborers themselves, individually, showing just how and how much they are being injured, are highly desirable for the education of the public and for the final determination of the exact prescriptions and proscriptions of child labor legislation.

CHILD LABOR *vs.* RECREATION

This issue of THE AMERICAN CHILD contains two articles dealing with the subject of recreation. The close interrelation among the several fields of child welfare has led the National Child Labor Committee to take a live interest in problems other than that which gave it origin. The child labor problem is one phase, and a very important phase, of the general problem of child welfare. The recreational problem is likewise involved in the general child welfare problem. The child labor problem and the recreational problem are closely related to each other.

Child labor is sometimes defended as better for the child than idleness, and in many communities people see nothing for the

children to do except to go to work or loaf on the streets. The attempted justification of child labor on the ground that it is better for the child to be at work than running at large or playing in ways physically harmful or morally dangerous is widespread and deserves consideration, but the community which sees and furnishes no choice but the choice between the two evils of condemning children to child labor and allowing them to go to the devil through idleness or improper play is missing a great opportunity and neglecting its duty. There is a way out, and that is the road of recreation, recreation safe and wholesome and sufficient, from Sunday School picnics to public supervised playgrounds. Let there be no compromise with child labor.

The premature and excessive labor of children thwarts the satisfaction of their humanly natural needs. Plentiful and wholesome recreation, on the other hand, affords expression to the instinctive nature out of which these needs arise. Neither the child's body nor his mind is constituted for child labor. "We may say with considerable truth," says a modern psychologist, "not that the child *ought not* to work, but that he *can not* work." This is true, certainly, of the young child. A forthcoming pamphlet of the Committee will deal with the point presented in the quotation.

Sociologically we may say that the wage-earning function of the family or the community does not belong to children. The business of children is to be children—this involves an abundance of play—and to grow up into healthy, intelligent, moral and efficient citizens. Society should not permit children to be penalised for the poverty of their parents, but through children's scholarships, mothers' pensions and otherwise, should make it possible for poor children to play and go to school and thus be helped out of poverty.

CHILD LABOR *vs.* CHILDREN'S WORK

The doctrine of all play and no work is quite as pernicious as the doctrine of all work and no play. Much depends on the conception of work. Work that is not too severe, too prolonged, too monotonous; work that does not deprive children of opportunity to play, that does not keep them out of school or interfere with their progress in school, work that is developmental and educative, is all right; child labor is all wrong.

Children have work instincts as well as play instincts, and these should be allowed expression, particularly at home and at school. To a large extent the work instincts and the play instincts are mutually inclusive. Creativeness figures in both work and play. But work, if it is to be truly developmental and educative, must be safeguarded, directed, supervised like play. It must be considered with reference not only to bodily growth and health, but with reference to mental growth and health; with reference to the educative process in the individual and with reference, also, to acquirement of knowledge and skill for vocational use. Children's work is an educational problem; so is the abolition of child labor.

Child labor legislation, far from being based on failure to recognise the virtues and values of children's work, is really based, in part, on recognition of the distinction between child labor and children's work. Child labor legislation is never a bar to children's work nor to its utilisation for developmental and educational purposes by agencies, such as the home and the school, really concerned with the care and training of children. It bars child labor; it may, perhaps, bar some activities conceived to possess elements of value (other elements being overlooked); but, to repeat, child labor legislation does not and can not prevent, and is not aimed to prevent, the utilisation of children's work as a means of education. Home and school have all the opportunity needed along this line. This is not saying that the opportunity has been improved to anywhere near its fullest extent.

BREVITIES

Adjustable administration undergoes such severe criticism that its operation in Wisconsin is well worth considering. The Wisconsin child labor law provides that its enforcement shall be in the hands of the Industrial Commission. This commission has complete control of granting and revoking work permits. In the exercise of this pwer it may withhold or revoke permits in a case where it believes the employer fails to realise his duties and responsibilities under the law. It has power to summon a violator of the law before it to show cause why he should not be prosecuted. In addition to these means of enforcement there is, of course, action in the courts (in this state the civil courts have jurisdiction over cases

of this nature) and the provision in the compensation law that a child injured while unlawfully employed is entitled to treble compensation which must be paid by the employer himself. The Deputy Commissioner writes us (April 2, 1920), "It has not been necessary to resort to prosecution with any great frequency." Since Sept. 1, 1917, about 300 employers have had to pay extra compensation amounting to $60,000.

A member of the National Child Labor Committee of many years' standing sent this note with her check: "I am sorry that I can not make it larger, but my husband is now a member of the Yale faculty and his salary is less than that of the carpenters and plumbers"!

The following facts were brought out in a milk survey conducted in New York City to determine the quantity and quality of milk used, and what effect, if any, the increase in price might have upon the health of the children of the city. Of 11,007 families visited 5,775 mothers claimed that children were deprived of milk because of its high cost, and 4,053 children were found to be using less milk. The nurses engaged in this survey reported that 1,294 children were suffering from definite malnutrition; 993 from anaemia; 785 were under normal weight; 608 were suffering from other disorders; and 3,648 were undernourished. Truly a formidable array!

Virginia has passed a public health and physical education bill that promises to be effective immediately, as the legislators voted an appropriation of $50,000 for its support. Of this amount $25,000 is to be expended for public health nursing and medical examination and the other half for the inauguration of a program of physical education for school children.

The California State Conference of Social Agencies will hold its twelfth annual meeting at Riverside, California, from May 4 to May 7. The program includes the following subjects: Education, Public Health, Industrial Relations, Delinquency and Corrections, Community Organisation, and Child Welfare. Authorities of national and international reputation on these subjects will participate. Graham Taylor of Chicago, John Collier of New York, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Franklin K. Lane, Dr. Anthony, and others have been asked to take part in the program.

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THE CHILD IN THE OPEN COUNTRY

JOHN F. SMITH

Recreation in the Southland

Much has been said and written about the kinds of recreation and the lack of means of recreation of the young people of the open country. I purpose in this article to describe the recreation of the young folk of the countryside, in the mountains and over a wide area of the lowlands in the Southland. In addition to my own observations I shall present reports which I have had from students who live throughout the region and who speak from actual experience and observation. These reports are not to be considered scientific and exhaustive; they merely describe the plays and games and other forms of recreation that are found now all over the countryside. It will be interesting to note that a number of students have handed in lists containing the names of more than 75 different plays and games, many of which they know how to play. One young man furnished a list of nearly 150. He knows how to play more than a hundred of them. A young lady handed in 90, about 70 of which she knows how to play. One young lady furnished the names of 88. Another young lady residing in another state knows how to play 72 of these—an evidence that they are rather widely and uniformly distributed.

The conclusions I present are the result of study and observation extending over half a dozen years. In fact the observations have extended over a lifetime. The following points represent the conclusions in a general way:

1. There is a great wealth of play material among the children of this region.
2. This material is generally distributed over both highlands and lowlands, being the same in both areas.
3. In the great majority of games violent physical action is demanded.

4. In very few games does the attainment of the goal, or the winning of the game, depend on the co-operative effort of the players.
5. Community playgrounds provided for the children of a neighborhood are almost unheard of.
6. The chief forms of recreation do not demand specially trained leaders.
7. Recreation of every kind is almost entirely unsupervised.
8. The general attitude of parents is decidedly in favor of work for exercise rather than play.
9. There is entirely too little recreation that appeals to the mothers.
10. There is almost none that gives rest and culture and diverts the thoughts from the ordinary every-day affairs of life.
11. Two great needs are apparent:
    a. Trained leaders who can bring the people of whole neighborhoods together on frequent occasions.
    b. Programs for these neighborhood meetings made up chiefly from the material at hand, with enough music and lecture material to supply the deficiency found in the recreation as it now is.
12. The great mass of play material is native to the woods and fields and should not be exchanged for the various forms of urban entertainment which have become so popular during recent years. It has proved its worth by persisting through the centuries, and, though unsupervised, has gone far towards building up the splendid muscle and brawn found among normal country youth.

Efforts have been made by many well-meaning people to urbanize the play of the country child. These people often insist that there are too few means of recreation among the country folk, and that something different should be introduced. My observation and experience lead me to a different conclusion. The real poverty seems to lie in the information of the well-wishers of the country youth rather than in the play material available. It would be infinitely better to introduce the muscle-making play of the country child into the playgrounds of the cities rather than attempt to take the movies and the other sports of the city youth out into the hills and fields.

The topics that follow are only some of the various forms of recreation among the fields. No effort is made to give a complete list of the things that the normal country boy does for recreation. It would be almost equally feasible to attempt to catalogue the

things that he does not do. Without special encouragement from his parents, the usual attitude being frowns and opposition rather than helpfulness, with no playground except such as nature unassisted has provided, with no apparatus except that found in the wilds,—trees, limbs, vines, stones, etc.—he somehow succeeds, if he is normal physically and mentally, in finding a tremendous amount of satisfaction and enjoyment after his own fashion in the life that he lives. So does the country girl, though her activities are confined to a very much more limited sphere than that of the boy.

Hunting

"Hi, Pete! Looky here!"

This reached my ears one fine spring morning as I was riding on an errand to a neighbor's a few miles away. It came from a small "tow-headed" boy as he emerged from a thicket, and was directed to another boy, Pete, who was supposed to be cutting sprouts on a field on the opposite side of the hollow.

"What is it, Anse?" replied Pete.

"Groundhog."

"Gee, aint 'e a buster!"

"Yeh, 'e's a purty good un."

"How 'd ye ketch 'im, Anse?"

"Smoked 'im out. Old Sap (his dog) treed 'im up thar an' I jes smoked 'im out."

"Take you much long?"

"No—ok, not mutch."

"Whut chu gon do with 'im?"

"Skin 'im, I reckon."

"Reck'n's another'n up thar?"

"Didn't see nairy nuth'rn."

"Did 'e fight purty hard?"

"Yeh, bit Ole Sap right on the nose an' jaw."

"How'd ye git 'im loose?"

"Wy, Ole Sap jes trunched 'im an' bit 'im that much harder."

And so on through much other talk which I did not get while Pete's sprouts or "grubs" kept growing and Anse's washwood remained uncollected. Each boy perhaps knew that either a scolding or a "lickin' " would be his greeting when he returned home, but

that didn't matter. Things like that are too frequent to be considered important, and besides, what fear of punishment can frighten the country boy away from a groundhog's den when there is the remotest possibility of smoking out or digging out the quarry?

The gentle art of smoking out groundhogs, and in fact, almost every kind of animal that seeks refuge in hole or hollow tree, is well known to all the Petes and Ansons of the country side. Everything from raccoons to screech owls, skunks and blacksnakes is subject to such indignities. A pocket full of matches is usually ready, and I knew of more than one boy who carried huge pods of red pepper carefully wrapt in their pockets which always gave an "extra flavor" to the smoke from burning sticks and leaves. These pods were almost invariably hooked from their mothers' drying strings at odd times when the boys could find nothing more exciting to do. The "extra flavor" supplied by this mild ingredient invariably has the desired effect, for no "varmint" however hardy can long endure its fumes. Some degree of punishment almost always attends its use, for sooner or later in the excitement an accident will happen that will fill the hunter's lungs with the "pepper smoke" and send him back coughing violently. But he doesn't mind small things like this so long as he is getting the groundhog.

"Danged if I didn't eat smoke till my mouth and nose wuz like a double-barreled chimbly," said a boy to me one day. "But I didn't give a dang so I got the old scamp."

The "old scamp" was a huge raccoon which had to descend the hollow trunk of a tree into the open jaws of a waiting dog. It was a desperate chance, but he took it—and lost.

The country boy is a natural hunter, a hunter of everything that runs, leaps, creeps, flies, or swims, and he has evolved methods of peculiar torture and effectiveness for getting at his quarry, hide where it may. Neither beast nor bird is safe within the sweep of his eye—and that eye is keen from constant use. He gropes for catfish, "jobs" for perch (which he calls "pearch"), twists out rabbits, or pulls them out half-skinned with a large brier, or catches them in box traps. He kills birds with "dead-falls," or catches them in a slat trap; he scratches out chipmunks with sharp sticks, fights bumble bees—and rarely gets stung; makes war on red wasps with rocks and handfuls of tough shrubs, is perfectly at ease thrashing out yellow jackets. He fells trees for coons or smokes them out if the

tree is hollow, shakes out 'possums, "pokes out" squirrels, catches lizards with a noose made of grass blades, and plays "sky-rocket" with live toads. He traps for skunks and muskrats, smokes out groundhogs, chases foxes, spears water snakes with a spike driven into the end of a long stick, climbs tall trees for crows' nests, and puts burning matches on the backs of terrapins "jes' to see the old devil git a move on himself." He shoots jays with a "slingshot" or an arrow, "gigs" suckers on the "riffles," hunts for fresh-water pearls by the half day—and rarely finds one,—chases and abuses cows and hogs, persecutes the house cat, ties tin cans to dogs' tails, hunts bullfrogs with rocks by day and with lantern and spear or fish-hook by night, knocks ducks and geese senseless with wet cobs, makes kittens, dogs, and roosters fight, and provokes the billygoat and the ram to desperation. In fact, he does almost everything that has ever been catalogued in the dictionary of tortures, and keeps at it through the entire year, developing muscle and resourcefulness at the expense of the happiness and life of all manner of animal life about him. Not having deer and bears, elk and buffalo and wolves to hunt as his forefathers did, he finds a substitute in everything from "beetle-bug" and "jack-snapper" to horned owls and rattle snakes. He hunts for whatever there is and gets a lot of his own kind of fun out of doing so.

"Strolling Around"

The habit of strolling about over fields, meadows and hills seeking adventures is one of the favorite kinds of recreation of the country boy. Girls often seek fun and relaxation in this way, but their excursions are always tame in comparison with those of boys. These strolls are usually taken on Sunday afternoons, sometimes on "off days," if the boy is fortunate enough to experience such rare occasions. An account of one such excursion on which I happened to be an onlooker, and a sometines participant, will illustrate their character.

A group of half a dozen boys had come together on Sunday afternoon, their favorite playtime—for farmer fathers have not yet deemed it necessary to grant a half holiday to their boys to be used as the boys choose—and prepared to go forth seeking adventures. Six boys—one a "fraid cat"—three dogs and I made up the party.

The strip of meadow land and the pasture were soon crossed and we entered the woods. Nothing of importance had happened so far except a wild and exciting rabbit chase in which both boys and dogs joined. The rabbit escaped, however, as usual. But as soon as we had entered the woods one boy challenged all the rest to climb saplings and bend them to the ground. The challenge was at once accepted, and five pairs of legs went "shinnying" up as many saplings. The boy whom the others called "Fraid-cat" merely looked on. He was a victim of hookworm and did not possess the energy to attempt stunts, a fact which was not recognized by the other fellows. But up the five climbed, each trying to go higher than the others. Then slowly the saplings began to bend, and three of the five with much kicking, "lungin' at it," and swinging like torsion pendulums brought the top limbs to the ground. This being accomplished the limbs were released and a little time was spent in "guying" the two who had tackled saplings too strong for their weight.

When the two had descended somewhat chafed in hands and spirit, one of them cried out, "I'll bet I kin clim' through tree tops furder down the hill than any of you fellers can!" This challenge was also accepted without parley, and in a twinkle flying legs were disappearing among the leaves towards the tops of saplings. Even the "Fraid-cat" seized a small bush and fell backwards to the ground with it. A moment later the whole group went scuttling from bush to bush, bending the top of one till the limbs of another could be reached,—went scurrying like Bandar-log down the hillside. Not a boy fell, not a limb broke. They had done the same thing so often that their hands were reliable and their feet were sure. They had learned by experience which limbs to avoid, and their keen eyes instantly detected the dangerous ones. When the party came panting back to the starting place "Fraid-cat" was discovered in the top of a low bush swaying back and forth, practising.

The mothers of some of these boys had cautioned them carefully against throwing rocks and climbing trees, which admonitions were treated with the respect they usually deserve.

Tiring of this thrilling sport, the group fell suddenly to making hickory-bark whistles and "whups." This consumed considerable time, but the whistles were finally made to blow and the "whups" were plaited, some three-stranded and flat, others four-stranded and

round. Then the half dozen moved valiantly through the trees blowing whistles and "poppin' whups," frightening every manner of bird and beast under cover. One boy discovered a grapevine suitable for a swing. Half a dozen jackknives suddenly appeared, five boys giving advice to the one boy who carved in silence. In a short time the fine vine was severed from the root, and one after another the boys took turns, each trying to swing through a wider arc than the others. No one seemed to think of the possibility of the vine breaking; a vine never had broken with any one of these boys, so why worry about this one? This lasted for half an hour, or until hands were nearly blistered and shoulders were tired.

"Here, fellers; hep me roll this rock down the hill!" No one seemed to have discovered that particular rock until all were tired of swinging, but now all turned to the task at hand. Down the hill went the huge flat rock leaping, tearing, "scamping" bushes and trees until it "chucked" into a hole by a big "clay-root." Other rocks were discovered and sent crashing down among the trees until the spot was cleared of boulders. Then began a contest of "chinning" a horizontal limb which one boy discovered. Each took a turn, and I remember that one boy "chinned" it 22 times without stopping. "Danged if that aint goin' some," was the only comment made on this record.

"Let's play 'lizard,' " came from one of the fellows. Immediately down went three or four on hands and toes, their bodies stretched at full length, and began bobbing up and down like gray lizards, touching their heads to the ground at each "bob," and counting the touches. The object of each boy's efforts was to "duck " more times than the other fellows.

This fun was broken up suddenly by the "chitterin' " of a chipmunk accompanied by the "yippin' " of a fice dog. The voice of the chipmunk suddenly became still, and that of the dog took on a different tone. He had adopted the "treed voice." Away went the half dozen with speed enough to entertain a dinosaur at bay until the fice was discovered. Knives appeared and sticks were cut and sharpened. Then began the "scratching-out" process, the dogs assisting and getting in the way. One stiff fight occurred between two of the dogs over a failure to decide whose time it was to scratch and bite out roots. While this fight was in progress the fice had his inning and threw out considerable dirt. By hard

scratching, "prizing," and "grabblin' out dirt" the end of the trail was approached. The frightened quarry began to "chitter" with fear and the excavators went at their work with unabated zeal. Suddenly in a pause a reddish-brown streak came from the hole but came to grief before going far. The hindmost dog, the one that had been badly bitten and trounced by the big cur, and kept at the proper distance by growls and threats and a show of bristles and teeth, had his inning and revenge by pouncing on the scuttling chipmunk and putting an end to his life at the first "nip." He took no chances on letting the others have a tooth in the business until the game was dead.

After the chipmunk was bitten in turn by all the dogs and examined from tail to snout by all the boys the party turned towards home. We had wandered perhaps a mile and a half away and found it necessary to cut across fields and pastures in order to save time. We came out of the woods on a fine pasture ridge where an abundance of thin rocks lay broken just the right size and shape for sailing. No boy can resist such an opportunity for "trying out his wing."

"I can beat you fellers sailing a rock!" cried one of the boys. The challenge did not need repeating. All the six hopped to it and began slinging rocks through the air almost as rapidly as a Lewis gun throws its bullets. And it was almost marvelous to see —I mean the skill they manifested in sailing rocks. I have for many years considered "rock sailing" one of my choice accomplishments. It requires a skill that comes only by long, patient practice to turn the rock at just the proper angle as it leaves the hand to make it glide and curve first to the right and then to the left while it speeds like an arrow on and on and on before falling to the earth. But every one of these boys, even "Fraid-cat," had this matter reduced to a fine art. And I thought of the "grubs" that remained uncut, of the cows that were not hurried home by milking time, of the corn that was not replanted, and the weeds that grew in peace while this skill was being acquired—for one does not learn how to sail a rock successfully in a day.

After each boy had vowed that his rock "hit furder" than anybody else's—two almost coming to blows about it—the party descended the hill at a pace that in point of recklessness deserves to rank with skiing, "bull-busting," or climbing the Matterhorn.

One who has never seen it can not have any very clear idea of the speed at which an awkward-looking country boy can descend a hill and live through it. Stumps were cleared at a bound; every log, whether small or large was vaulted, and not a toe came to grief; leaps fully 25 feet in length became commonplace events before the bottom was reached. If anyone doubts the length of these leaps I can vouch for the fact that I as a boy have cleared over 35 feet at one leap down a steep hill and came out without rupture or broken back. My former experience was the only thing that enabled me to keep in hailing distance of that half-dozen. Even "Fraid-cat" "peartened up" and made good in this mad race.

The rest of the journey home was marked by only one exciting event. A rabbit was indiscreet enough to allow himself to be "jumped" by one of the dogs, and in a twinkle nine throats were yelling at high pressure as he sped across the hillside toward the rock ledge with the big cur dangerously near his "cotton-patch," and the "yipping" fice bringing up the rear with considerable credit. But the ledge once reached, the panting quarry was quite safe. No twisting stick nor brier was long and crooked enough to reach him. Although the boys knew from experience that he could not be reached, each had to peep into the hole with appropriate comment.

"Hod, boys, wasn't that a race for ye?" came from one.

"If he'd gone fifty yards furder ole Nig would shore a-picked 'im up," said another.

"Ah, shoots, fellers, if Sam Skinner's dog had a-been here danged if he wouldn't a-picked him up before he got half outn't his nest," from a third.

Sam Skinner's dog had been known to pick up rabbits on a clear run and some of these boys had seen him do it. Hence his reputation.

Bye and bye with much keen whistling and yodeling—for many country boys are expert yodlers—the party reached the muster-place and separated for home.

Excursions of this kind are but commonplace occurrences in the lives of country boys of the Southland. Multiply scenes like these by ten thousand and you have a better idea about how boys from 8 to 16 of the hill country spend their Sunday afternoons. What a contrast is this muscle-building recreation to trips in autos and visits to the movies! It may not acquaint the country lad with

the popular movie idols or make resorts familiar to his eyes, but it puts into his fiber the material that makes it possible for him to become the father of the strongest and most vigorous children—and that's a point in its favor.

Swimming

Let a student speak here:

"I shall tell about one swimming party of which I was a member. It was in August after crops were laid by. There was no Sunday School to go to, and if there had been very few boys would have gone. The kind of Sunday School commonly found in the country churches of my part of the country don't appeal much to the boys. They are more interested in snakes, lizards, and swimming holes than they are in Abraham, Moses, and the River Jordan.

"The swimming hole was in a river of some size. A huge slanting rock, called 'Slick Rock' was on one side and furnished the 'jumping-off place.' The current was swift by the rock, but an eddy was on the opposite side. One shoal was above and another below the rock which afforded good wading grounds for timid swimmers.

"About 25 men and boys were in the party—and they kept coming until the middle of the afternoon. As soon as we reached the river every fellow 'drawed his jeans,' cooled off for a little while, then 'took a dip.' Some dived long distances at the first leap, some jumped in awkwardly and swam with much kicking and splashing, others who were old hands at the business plowed across the swift water like motor boats, and almost as fast. A few tenderfeet rolled a big poplar log into the water and hung on to that for the rest of the day. There was splashing and water-fighting, ducking, swimming on backs, treading water, and doing all sorts of stunts. After an hour or more the fellows became tired and crawled out to lie in the sand and mud to rest. Some fellow started trouble and in a twinkle half a dozen others were chasing him, dressed in nothing but fresh air and grins. Down the road and out across the meadow they went, barefooted and in the hot sun until feet and shoulders were blistered. Finally they caught him and brought him back swinging him by the heels and hands. They came up close to the water at a deep place, and after swinging him back and

forth a few times let go and sent him headlong into the water. That duty done they returned to their places in the mud and allowed the 'ducked' fellow to get out as best he could. In all this rough play no one became angry. If any man had lost his temper the others would have 'ducked' him often enough to cool off his temper.

"There was a long rope tied to an overhanging tree with a stick tied on the lower end. The boys would take hold of the stick and swing out over the water, then drop in. It required some skill to do this and not get badly flattened out. At the first effort a fellow was almost certain to fall flat on his belly and get his breath knocked out. But he needed only one or two such falls to teach him how to turn loose.

"About four o'clock after having spent some five hours or more in the water the party crawled out, dripped for a short while, then dressed and went home."

Swimming is usually confined to the men and boys. Comparatively few girls learn how to swim. It is against all tradition and good manners for them to do so. Of course parents are found here and there who encourage their girls to learn to swim, but they are in the minority. I have known many mothers—and know many now—who would consider a daughter disgraced, and would feel themselves disgraced, if she should put on a bathing suit and go bathing with a young man, or with a party of young men and women.

"I tell you, I jes' don't believe in this here thing of men and women goin' in a-washin' together." Such was the pronouncement of a grandmother I knew well. She had sat on the bank of a creek with some of her neighbors watching a bathing party of something like twenty people, mostly tots, taking their first lessons. She looked on for a time and went away a-grieved "that sensible and self-respecting people can ever be brought to do such a nasty thing." To her it was an act of indecency. She somehow associated swimming with complete nudity. All the bathing parties she had ever known about—men and boys by day, and girls who secretly stole away by night—did not employ the gentle protection of bathing suits. Hence the troubled state of her mind.

Her attitude reflects that most frequently found among mothers and grandmothers of the open country. It has never been the fashion for men and women to go bathing together, and although

swimming is recognized as one of the finest kinds of exercise, and often a necessity, the mothers of the fields and hills do not so consider it. Of course one meets here and there a family where the parents encourage their girls to learn how to swim, and even go to the swimming place with them, but this is the exception rather than the rule.

Dancing

The square dances are almost universally employed in the open country of this region, and are almost as universally frowned upon by the church people. Round dances are found in the towns and villages, but rarely in the remoter places. There are several reasons for this. Rooms are rarely large enough, floors are rarely in proper condition, suitable music is often lacking, and the people at large are opposed to what they term "huggin' matches," Although dancing is universally recognized as one of the best forms of relaxation, and has been so recognized since the dawn of history, it is put under the ban along with card-playing, gambling, and drunkenness. The country people are divided, however, regarding this matter. The liberal element believe in allowing young folks to have a good time, and a very large percentage recognize the square dance as a favorite and wholesome form of recreation. The conservative half, many of whom are decidedly puritanic in their ideas of conduct, frown upon it and claim that it is a work of the devil. I have seen people look on at a dance which was executed in a church under religious excitement, and call it a "holy dance," who would promptly excommunicate the same dancer if he were to do the same steps in a country store for the fun of it, while his same neighbors who clapped time in the church "patted Juber" for him in the store. The time and the occasion make a difference, although the steps danced may be identical.

"Whenever you see a girl a-running' to 'frolics' all the time you may jes know she's a-goin' down hill, and she aint a-goin' to stop till sumpum turrible happens to her." This came from an ancient granny who was as good as gold, but had forgotten the days when she used to be the belle at the country dances and break the hearts of swains as her ganddaughters are doing now. Her attitude typifies the attitude of thousands of the best men and women of the countryside.

Another group of people—good people, at that—who oppose the country dances with relentless bitterness are the country preachers. If the preacher is unlettered he is certain to oppose the dance. The poorer folk usually have only the unlettered ministers. He is a sincere and honest man, but, is as a rule, austere, serious, puritanic in his attitude toward conduct, doesn't play himself and often believes that only "children of the devil" meet at "frolics" and "shindigs" to make merry. He fails to see that it is just as important for young people to go to social gatherings and have fun as it is to go to church and listen to sermons. From the pulpit he denounces the dance and the "frolic", and fails not to remind both old and young of the terrible consequences that are certain to follow too much "frolicking".

One minister "put his foot down" thus: "They are certain wayward young men and young women among you who belong to the dancing gang—ah, and who go to frolics and shindigs more'n they go to prayer meetin'—ah (there were no prayer meetings to go to), and who are shorely on the everlasting road to perdition—ah."

I have never heard, nor heard of, an unlettered preacher who offered a suitable substitute for the dance. Instead of taking it as a popular form of recreation, building a neighborhood house where the dance and other social affairs can be supervised and made to serve a very important purpose, he opposes it at all times. It is not known to the preachers in general that this outspoken opposition to "frolics" is one of the chief things that keep young people out of the country churches.

Dancing Games

In order to keep down the bitter objection of the preachers and some of the parents, and still have fun and exercise in social groups, young men and women resort to the dancing games. The chief difference between these and the square dances lies in the absence of the fiddle music and the calls. The swinging and dancing are there just the same. Here is a list of them—not an exhaustive list:

"Skip-to-my-Lou," "Jolly Old Miller," "Three Little Girls," "Bingo," "Charlie," "Grape-vine Swing," "Pawpaw Patch," "Chase the Buffalo."

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Perhaps the most popular of these is "Skip-to-my-Lou." It is played to a song the tune of which is well known to the majority of country lads and lassies. Some of the verses show how the nonsense rhyme is employed by half-grown-ups who make lines to fill out the song.

Lost my partner, an' what'll I do?
Lost my partner, an' what'll I do?
Lost my partner, an' what'll I do?
Skip to my Lou, my darling.
Can't get a red bird, bluebird'll do, . . .
The old gray mare has lost her shoe, . . .
Fly in the buttermilk, strain him through, . . .
Pretty brown eyes are a-lookin' at you, . . .
One old boot an' a run-down shoe, . . .
Hair in the butter dish four feet long, . . .
Hair's in the biscuit six feet through, . . .
Cat scratched pap so skip to my Lou, . . .

—and a long list of others of equal poetical value. But they serve the purpose in the game and incidentally reveal the sense of the ludicrous in the mind of the country youth.

"Chase-the-Buffalo" has a fine dignified tune, well adapted to the merry skipping and swinging that accompany it. The words, too, are appropriate:

O the hawk shot the buzzard and the buzzard shot the crow,
And we'll rally 'round the cane brake and chase the buffalo.
O we'll chase the buffalo, we'll chase the buffalo,
We will rally 'round the cane brake and chase the buffalo.
O the girls will sit and spin and the boys will stand and grin,
And we'll rally round the cane brake and chase the buffalo.

Numerous other verses follow, greatly varying in different neighborhoods, for it must be remembered that if the country boy or girl lacks a verse to a dancing song, or any other kind, he will make one. Or if he lacks a word to express a certain state of mind he is likely to coin one. This habit accounts largely for the variants in songs and for the ridiculous dialect terms so frequently found in the speech of the country folk. And the keen sense of humor of the phrase-maker is evidenced by the queer combination of words and syllables. I have often heard this attributed to ignorance. I

rather prefer to attribute it to a clever sense of humor. I fear the ignorance lies too often in the minds of those who fail to see from the level of the cabin door.

Kissing Games

These, too, are under the ban, but are exceedingly popular with a very large percentage of the country youth. Such games have existed perhaps as long as the dance, and persist because they do appeal to young folk. One would hardly suspect the character of the games from these titles:

"Thimble," "Chewing Tape," "Faith, Hope, and Charity," "Picking Grapes," "Selling Stamps," "Measuring Ribbon," "Snap," "Postoffice," "Wading the Swamp," "Building the Bridge," and others.

A very large percentage of young people, girls especially, do not play these games, but still a very large percentage do. Parents usually consider them "perfectly awful," and many grown-ups look upon them as "so awfully sickenin' that no sensible person will play them," and yet many of these good people played them themselves when they were in the teens,—and lived through it. They persist because of their appeal to young men and women because parents, as a rule, fail to supervise the recreation of their children. The tendency is to attempt to regulate plays and games after the manner of the Decalog and without offering any substitutes whatever. The country preachers, too, voice their disapproval in no uncertain terms, offering no alternative but church-going and prayer meetings, thus hardening the hearts of the young folk and keeping them away from the church. One young man thus expressed his state of mind:

"I don't give a d—— whether I go to church or not. For ev'ry time I go the preacher raises h—— about what we young folks do to have a good time, and doesn't do a thing to offer us anything different. I don't want to go where I'm cussed out all the time for trying to be happy and trying to make others so."

But despite the indifference of many parents and the outspoken opposition of the majority of the ministers, the young folks find opportunity to have a great deal of fun in the various ways at their disposal. Yet many complain of the dullness of their surroundings

and not a few leave the country for the cities where recreation in abundance is to be found. If those who insist that this migration is due to the absence of the means of recreation in the country should only look into the matter a little more carefully they would discover that it is not the lack of means but is the careless indifference of parents and the relentless opposition of the ministers to the kinds of play that exist that have the larger effect. One young woman expressed an attitude that is sometimes unseen: "Every time we young folks do anything to have a merry time, somebody ups and tells us that we are committing a sin. I know we don't mean to do wrong; we simply want to be happy. I get so sick of it all that I just want to get away."

Fiddle Music

This constitutes one of the most popular forms of recreation. The violin, the banjo, the guitar are the most popular instruments. Both young and old play, men chiefly, for women look upon the art "fiddlin' " as out of their line. As the men grow older they usually discard the banjo and guitar for the more musical and difficult fiddle. Among all the people one meets among the hills the old-time fiddler is one of the greatest surprises. He is a most genial and good-natured soul to meet; he does not know one note from another; sometimes (not often) he can neither read nor write; his arms and hands are frequently stiff with large muscles or rheumatism; but he can sit down with a fiddle in poor repair and a bow with decimated hairs and literally play hundreds of tunes without ever consulting notes. He plays entirely by ear. He has learned the tunes from some other fiddler who, in turn learned them from some other, and he will pass them on to the younger generation in the same manner. I have known some fiddlers who were real artists. In fact, I could pay visits to half a dozen or more now, whose repertoires run high into the scores, and whose musical ability is recognized by everyone—except a number of musically inclined people I know. The old fiddler cares little for the compositions of the favorite masters. He doesn't understand them and rarely tries to play them. They are too slow to suit his taste. He looks not so much for melody as for "fiddle action." His is a different world of music, great and soul-stirring, and has a universal appeal to

rustic hearts and heels. I consider it no great compliment to any music teacher to condemn the "breakdown music." The majority I have known are as ignorant of the music of the hills as the old fiddlers are of the works of Beethoven and Wagner. I have often thought of a contrast between two friends of mine, one well trained in drawing-room music who can scarcely play one composition through without the notes before him, and another, an old fiddler, who can play nearly three hundred selections from memory. The reader may judge which has the greater musical ability.

These "fiddlin's" are usually held in some neighbor's house or at the country store. A group of men and boys "collect" to hear and see the fun, and the fiddler never fails to entertain them. No begging is necessary to induce him to play. His ideas of courtesy do not permit him to wait for a second invitation; he believes in using the talent he has to make the world about him happier. He likes to play and he knows people like to hear him; that is sufficient motive for him to act. He accompanies his playing by loudly patting his foot, and often plays with an abandon that would produce consternation in conventional music circles. But his audience responds and expresses its appreciation by much swaying, dancing, and shuffling of feet.

There is nearly always a "hoe-down" during intervals between tunes. Some man or boy who has a nimble foot takes the floor, and while others pat he executes the "double shuffle," "cuts a rusty," "gits his gun," "ropes the buck," "backsteps," or does all these and more before he becomes exhausted.

The fiddler often has an accompanist who uses banjo or guitar. If neither of these instruments is available someone who has a sense of rhythm beats time on the fiddle strings, which are almost always of wire, with a pair of steel knitting needles.

The repertory of the old fiddler contains numbers as quaint in name as they are in tone. Here are a few of the rather larger number of titles I have in my collection:

"Billy in the Low Grounds," "Bob-tailed Dog," "Buttermilk and Brandy," "Buck Creek Girls," "Black Nancy," "Black-eyed Susan," "Cacklin' Hen," "Cumberland Gap," "Cow-bell Hollow," "Forked Buck," " Gittin' Up Big Sandy," "Down the Georgie Line," "Hook and Line," "Ida Redd," "Moonshiner," "Nigger Stole a Punkin," "Old Rusty Kittle," "Sourwood Mountain," "Sugar in the Courd,"

"Shorten Bread," and scores of others. These savor of the open fields and hills in both title and tune. They are indigenous to the soil and should be utilized in constructive program work rather than frowned upon. They constitute one of the chief sources of joy to the people.

But one finds much objection even to this fiddle music among some of the best people. One good woman was heard to say, "I'd ruther see one of my girls in her grave than to see her a-playing' a fiddle," and she meant every word of it.

"No good ever come of setting' and a-listenin' to a devil-gourd whur you saw and saw with horse hairs to a very squeaky tune." This from a preacher who had once gone merrily to "frolics" and "shindigs" as a lad, but who laid aside all such folly when he "got" his sober religion—a religion so sombre in itself that his poor old face seemed actually to hurt with piety.

"There's never a fiddle but what's got a devil in it," said another divine, "and when he is stirred up he mighty nigh always sticks a pizened needle in the heart and another in the heel."

And a third cried, "Fiddlin' and kyard-playin' and dancin'—O my brethren, why will ye go on the downward road to hell—ah!"

I give these citations not to make light of the country preachers, for even the crudest and most unlettered are usually men of honest and sincere purposes, but I give them to show one of the chief causes why young people leave the open country and go into the cities for a freer and more abundant recreation. Young folks as a rule want to do the honorable and respectable thing. They know that their motives are good when they play or listen to fiddles, or go to "frolics," or dance, and they know that these motives are frequently misunderstood. Many of them do not want to remain where their "sins of folly"—which they know are not intended to be sins—are constantly flung into their faces. So they seek an opportunity to go where they can be happy and enjoy life without having someone whose mental vision is faulty hold up their pseudo-sinful conduct before them through all the days of their youth.

Songs and Ballads

One of the most popular forms of recreation, particularly among women and girls, is the singing of old songs and ballads. Both kinds of song are found scattered widely over highlands and low-

lands alike. Contrary to the opinions of many people, the songs, the speech, and habits of life in general among the common folk of the Mississippi Valley and other lowlands are very much the same as they are among the common folk of the mountains. The man who "chops cotton" in Mississippi knows practically the same songs, has very much the same mannerisms in speech and conduct as his first cousin who peels tanbark in the Black Mountains. "Barbara Allan" is sung in the country homes and pastures of West Tennessee to the same tune that is familiar to "ballet singers" in the Blue Ridge country of Virginia. The singers of both regions are practically all of the same origin and possess the same pure Anglo-Saxon blood. I speak of the white people only. The negroes of the lowlands (there are almost no negroes among the open fields of the mountains) have their own folk songs which are in most cases quite different from those of the white people. The white people readily take to singing the negro songs, but the negroes rarely attempt to sing the ballads of the white folks.

Women and girls do most of the singing. Boys and young men whistle the tunes more often than they sing. Only occasionally does one find an old man skilled in the gentle art of ballad singing. He usually prefers religious songs. I have known a few who were well-known minstrels. That old men are sometimes excellent ballad singers is attested by some of the songs in that best of ballad books, "English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians," by Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp. And sometimes a young man is found who is a veritable Orpheus of the hills and fields, and who carries the gladness and sunshine of song into many a home. I have known some of these troubadours of the hill folk and can testify to the fine quality of their singing. They usually accompany their songs with banjo or guitar, and almost never with dulcimer, although many misinformed people insist that the latter instrument is generally used.

Ballads are most frequently sung as solos—are sung at their best by mothers or their daughters while they are at work in the house or doing chores just outside. There is no audience to hear on these occasions, which fact insures naturalness of expression. But there are times when they are sung by groups. The young people of a neighborhood usually gather at some neighbor's house on Sunday afternoons to visit and sing. Some girl accompanies the

singing with the organ. Oftentimes she has never had a music lesson, but that does not prevent her from playing a whole Sunday afternoon without music before her. Both young men and women come to these Sunday afternoon gatherings to sing (though the girls do most of the singing), jest, "talk to one another," and make merry in general. Some people object to having "secular" songs sung on Sunday in their homes, so these merry singers always go to the home where ideas are not quite so puritanic.

There is a wide range of song at the disposal of these young folk. "Lord Lovel," "Dog and Gun," "Texas Ranger," "Pretty Mohea," "Dying Cowboy," "Lovely Nan," "Groundhog," "Chewing-Gum Girl," "Fair and Tender Ladies," "In Some Lonesome Valley," "Maggie," "Cripple Creek Girls," "House Carpenter," "Lonesome Dove," and hundreds of others. Some of these were brought by our forefathers across the sea, others have been written by "writers of song ballets," and still others seem to have grown up among the fields, after the manner of the true folk song. Many have not been published in books, some not in magazines. My own collection contains a large number which I have never found in the collections that have been published.

They are sung almost entirely from memory, and it is remarkable how many are known to some young women. I know young women who carry scores of both songs and tunes in their memories. Four different young ladies wrote out nearly one hundred each for me. The lengthy numbers like "Jackaro," "Waxford Girl," "House Carpenter," and "The Mary Golden Tree" seem to be remembered with as much ease as the shorter ones. The fact that they are sung from memory accounts largely for variations in both words and tunes in different neighborhoods. As many as twenty different variants of one tune, "the most beautiful folk song in all the world," have been found.

Economic Socials

These are popular in season. They include "Bean-Stringings," "Apple-Peelings," "Quiltings," "Workings," of various other kinds. In the absence of glass fruit jars and tin cans our pioneer grandmothers learned how to cure and keep vegetables. Much of this knowledge was brought by the first settlers from across the sea. It

had served the purpose of their foreparents for thousands of years among the fields of Europe, and it would serve their own purposes equally well here. They peeled apples and dried them, or they put them in a basket, suspended the basket in a barrel and "sulphured" them. They "threaded" green beans on long strings which they hung up under the porch roof to dry; or they put the beans down in brine which preserved them fairly well. They cut pumpkins into continuous spirals, thrust sticks through these and hung them up to dry. All this took much time. So the neighbors were frequently invited in to the "bean-stringing" or the "apple-peeling" to talk, laugh, crack jokes, and assist in doing the work.

And this is precisely what goes on over wide areas of the Southland today. The same needs exist for extra hands that existed a century ago, and the young folks are just as ready and willing to lend that hand and have a merry time while doing so. Quite frequently after the work is completed and cleared away the furniture is removed from one room and the merry workers spend the rest of the evening in playing dancing games, sometimes kissing games, and having wholesome fun in other ways.

"Quiltings" are usually merry occasions. A young woman wishes to fill up her "hope chest," or a mother desires to add other "bed quilts" to her presses. Through long evenings they work, cutting, piecing, toiling patiently with small scraps, for it is the custom to save even the smallest remnants of new cloth, until the top of the quilt is finished. Until recent years the batting, or "bats," were carded by the mother—and still are in many homes throughout the cotton region—the lining is secured and basted in, the quilt is put in the frames and the neighbors are invited to come and bring their needles and thimbles. The quilting is done with much jesting, laughing and gossiping. Young men sometimes venture to go, but their efforts at using the needle serve chiefly to increase the merriment of the skilful needle-women.

Often when the quilt is finished it is used to forecast important events connected with the marriage of the young women who are present. The house cat is brought and put gently in the centre of the quilt. All the maidens seize the quilt by the edge, and, after the manner of the army-blanket stunt, toss the cat into the air. The cat is certain to become frightened and leap out over someone's shoulder. The lady thus favored will, according to all tradi-

tions, be the next to marry. She therefore receives the joyful congratulations of all the others.

After supper on quilting day the young men of the neighborhood usually drop in and the party thus increased join in the merry-making, which often continues until late into the night. Here the laughing games, the dancing games, and often the square dance are enjoyed by all. Those who are well along in their courtship are easily identified on such occasions by their refusal to enter heartily into the games with the rest.

Barbecues

In many parts of the country a big barbecue is an annual event. This brings the people together from all the surrounding country and serves as the one great social center for the entire community. One man I knew "gave" two or three each season for a number of years. He thus furnished opportunity for recreation among the people and at the same time added considerable sums to his personal exchequer. These barbecues were held near a big spring at a choice spot among giant beeches. A large square about 40 by 40 feet was wired off and covered with sawdust for the "bran-dancer." The day before a number of carcasses had been prepared—pigs, sheep, goats, often beeves. These were cut up and roasted during the night over live hickory coals thrown into trenches under the meat. A sauce made of vinegar, pepper, butter and spices was administered freely.

A brass band came early, and an orchestra of half a dozen pieces. From far and near the people came, came early, and many remained until it closed at night. For, when darkness came, torches were lighted everywhere and the merry-making often continued till towards midnight. There were candies, lemonade, ice cream (with plenty of real milk), chewing gum, "pop," and other things to buy, and a good dinner of barbecued meat for a small sum. There was a "picture-man" who took "rapid-fire" photographs, sometimes a gipsy woman to tell fortunes, and all the quadrille dancing the most ardent devotees could desire. Clog dances and dancing contests similar to those of Deserted Village days were popular with the crowd, for these people had the blood of old England, Scotland, and Ireland in their veins, and they danced in the same fashion as their grandsires did back among Old Scotia's hills or on the bonny greens

of Erin. There were expert clog dancers, men and women who were artists on rustic toes, who performed between quadrilles. There was laughing and shouting, and often betting on favorites among the onlookers. Sometimes a "ballet" singer came, and in plaintive but not disagreeable tones sang such songs as "Gipsy Laddie," "Hog-Drivers," "The Cottage by the Sea," "Barbara Allen," or the latest creation of the song writer who commemorated in verse all the tragedies of the country round. And all the time the quadrilles were whirling merrily, the sets being called by an ancient negro with snow-white hair and "Prince Albert" of antique hue which added a touch of the picturesque to the whole affair. His one choice expression all the young folks quoted for the rest of the year, "Ghents, git yo pahtnahs fo' de nex' quadrille!"

Thus through the day the crowd mingled with neighbors and trees, ate, drank, jested, laughed, danced, youths "skylarked," and babies slept or cried from bursting stomachs until approaching night sent the majority away. And all through the winter many of the young folks practiced in semi-secret the quadrille steps and figures to the time of their favorite dance tune which they hummed as they danced, each hoping to outdance and "outshine" the others on the "bran" the next summer.

And sometimes a lone preacher with a lunch in his pocket appeared on the grounds, not to take part in the frolicking but "to preach the Word under the very nostrils of this devil of mammon and unrighteousness that's shorely leadin' our young people down to hell." But he offered no substitute for that particular means of recreation.

This is a typical barbecue scene the like of which is familiar to tens of thousands of the country folk who are made healthier and happier in mind for the rest of the year by the one coming together.

Games in General

When games are played by youths or children there are a great many to choose from. There are games for those who wish to run, and games for the indoor parties; games for tiny tots and games for the old; games for love-sick swains and maidens, and still others for every manner of person and mood and weather. Those who insist that there are not enough games among country children to

afford plenty of recreation have perhaps not made a careful study of the supply available. Given a dozen healthy youngsters on a bright day, and there will most certainly be games played in the most hilarious fashion so long as they are together—and no game will be played very long at a time. And it is hardly probable that any game will be repeated during the afternoon; there will be enough on hand to afford abundant variety. I have, during the last few years, collected a list of something like three hundred plays and games of the children and youth of this region, and I am still adding new names. As was stated in the first part of this article it is often surprising to discover how many games some young people know. The games with complete instructions for playing, which some individual young folks have furnished me, would fill a considerable volume.

There are numerous circle games played chiefly by the young folks at school: "Farmer's in the Dell," "Marching 'Round the Levee," "Ring Around the Rosy," "Frog's in the Meadow," "Dollar, Dollar," "London Bridge," "Oats, Peas, Beans," "Pig in the Parlor," and enough others to furnish a varied program for a whole day. There are the running games demanding the most strenuous effort: "Base," "Dare," "Sheep Meat," "Fox and Hound," "Handkerchief," "Old Witch," "Hide-and-go-Seek," and enough others to develop all the leg muscles needed by the present generation. Then there are laughing games, guessing games, "sells," games of fortune, and numerous other varieties that keep young folks active and merry whenever they come together: "Bluebird," "Sailing the Ship," "Winding the Spool," "Cross-Question and Silly Answer," "Fruit Basket," "Brother Bob," "Button, Button," "Knock a 'Nigger' Down," "Blind Man," "Bread-and-Butter," "Pretty Girl's Station," and some hundreds more.

Besides these there are the numerous card games, jumping the rope, "romping," "wrestling (commonly called "scuffling"), checkers, chess, croquonole, croquet, tennis occasionally, many varieties of marbles, and others too numerous to mention. "Horse-Shoe" deserves an honorable mention because it is one of the most common of all games for grown-up men. And there are a thousand different things that small boys and girls do which are commonly included in the term "piddlin'." No one can describe this "piddlin' " very accurately, for it is entirely too varied in its nature. I watched a

pair of small boys for some half an hour one day and made note of some of the things they did. Not being a stenographer, I didn't find it possible to make a complete list. One moment they were throwing sticks into the water to induce a small dog to bring them back; next they discovered some large ants and spent several minutes in making them fight; a toad was discovered and a "sky-rocket" trigger was immediately made that sent the helpless animal flying high into the air; an angle worm carelessly made his appearance and one of the boys put it on a hot rock "to see him squirm and fry." Presently another toad unwittingly hopped into view. One of the boys caught it, tied a string to one of its hind legs and drove it over the sand for a while, employing a vocabulary that was part "ox-talk" and part "mule-talk" in the driving. Both suddenly fell to turning somersaults. This was suddenly stopped by a growl from the dog. He had discovered a "scissors" bug under a piece of bark, so the boys spent some time torturing the bug. This scene closed with the "scissors" bug fastened on the dog's nose, which sent him leaping, pawing, slinging his head and snorting until the bug fell into the creek. Then the boys after recovering somewhat from laughter tossed rocks at the bug until the current carried it away. Other pieces of bark were then turned and a huge cockchafer was discovered. Some minutes were spent in making this "jack-snapper" perform, and when he became tired of the nonsense he was thrown into the creek and bombarded with stones until he passed beyond reach. It is needless to record more of this half-hour's happenings.

Girls are more restricted in their recreational activities. They are much more restricted than is good for them. From her earliest years the girl is commonly impressed with the fact that she is a girl, that there are certain things which she must not do. She must not go wading, must not swim, must not ride a horse "a-straddle," must not climb trees, must not run and jump, must not do anything that her grandmother thinks is not proper and nice for a girl to do. She must not be a "tom-boy"—whatever that may mean—but must always be sweet and nice. And this very puritanic manner of instructing girls about what they may and may not do often has its pernicious results. She often grows up thinking constantly of self—self and sex—is prudish, shy, liable to do imprudent or even desperate things. Mothers instead of dressing

their daughters so they can run and romp and play with small boys without embarrassment, are rather prone to keep them out of the very sports that would make them physically strong. The very instructions that a girl most needs she rarely gets; and the kind of play and recreation that she needs and craves is too often forbidden —just because she is a girl.

Thus do the children of this region live and grow to manhood and womanhood. I have not written of things that only the people of the long ago did, but I have recorded things that now are. And I have merely hinted at some of the things that children and youths do for recreation. Many things that are done can not be written; many others could be. Most of the forms of recreation are wholesome many of those that are objectionable could easily be improved or eliminated if parents would only take time to supervise the play of their children—a thing which the great majority of parents never think of doing. What the children do for fun they usually do by themselves. Perhaps the better nature within them will save them for the duties of good citizenship in the future as it has so long saved them in the past.

CHILDREN'S CODES

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

I

A children's code is not a code. That is, it is not a code in the ordinary meaning of the term—in the sense of a systematic compilation of laws. A code is a labor-saving device. Through the action of a legislative body at successive sessions in enacting new measures and in amending and repealing old ones, the general statutes soon get into such confusion that reference to them becomes a weary task and steps have to be taken to straighten out the tangle. So all the laws in force at the time are assembled, arranged according to subject matter, and the sections numbered consecutively, the compilation becoming known for instance as the "Code of 1915," or sometimes taking the name of the man chiefly responsible for it. This is a code, as commonly understood, but a children's code, so-called, bears but slight resemblance to it.

The purpose of a children's code is to standardise and to co-ordinate the laws and administrative agencies relating to children and to supply laws and administrative agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes. This, of course, is far more than a mere process of simplification—far more than rearrangement for ready reference. A general code deals with laws already passed, while a children's code deals with boys and girls, their interests, and the conditions that affect them. The one is merely the arrangement of laws in orderly sequence so as to facilitate the use of the statute books; the other is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.

Structurally also, a children's code is unlike a general code, for it does not attempt to codify the laws concerning children but leaves them where it finds them, scattered among the general acts

as determined by their content. Indeed, it would only add to the confusion and administrative difficulties if they were taken from their places and brought together as a code, for in considering any subject involving both adults and children we should then be under the troublesome necessity of looking up in the children's code the law pertaining to children and then turning to the general code for the provisions affecting their elders. So a children's code leaves in the body of general health laws the provisions relating to the health of children, in the general labor laws the provisions as to the labor of children, and so with all other provisions that are properly part of larger groups of acts—they are left where they belong and no attempt is made to codify them.

The word "code" in this connection is really a misnomer, and the only justification for its use is that it is short. To supply, to standardise and to co-ordinate laws and agencies for child welfare is the aim of a children's code but this aim is not even suggested by its misleading name, although perhaps it would be hard to find a more fitting title having also the advantage of brevity. However, as the term comes into general use and understanding it will serve as well as another, but instances have already occurred in which efforts to promote the children's code idea have been vigorously opposed by persons who took the word at its face value and held that a separate codification of the laws concerning children would hopelessly entangle the administrative machinery of a state.

II

Just as a general code must be compiled at intervals as the condition of the statutes may require, so must a children's code be from time to time renewed. It is not a final achievement but a step in the evolution of child welfare standards, a clearing of the way for further progress, and must never, under any circumstances, be looked upon as the end of the line. It is an instrument for advancing the interests of children, just as every effort and every instrumentality made use of in their behalf is for the purpose of pushing forward, part and parcel of a continuing process, for without growth, constant and ever-expanding, there can be no such thing as child welfare. A children's code must be thought of as a

living and growing creature, capable of endless development. But it must never be forgotten that it is a creature whose growth and development are derived from us alone—it is our child for a time and ours is the responsibility for rearing it well and handing it on to those who come after us stronger and better for having been in our care.

A final code would be a disaster, but fortunately it is an impossibility. In the natural course of events it must yield to changes and adjustments. Conditions and ideals determine its character and conditions and ideals are not stable things. Even the laws themselves are open to different constructions—as witness our written constitutions—and although they are supposed to be rigid, they are really quite flexible and can be bent to strangely variant ends. Local sentiment helps to determine their meaning but local officers charged with their enforcement are their leading interpreters. The shades of meaning they read into them as they fulfill, each according to his understanding, their duties of administration, are manifold and bewildering to the student of government. As one goes from place to place in a state observing the work of local officers, he passes through all degrees of administrative ardor from sublime indifference to excessive zeal and finds as many interpretations of any one act as there are officers to enforce it. Local enforcement is not a success in our complex modern life, however well it may have served in the days of a simpler past, and so we find the tendency now is to transfer administrative powers from the local community to the larger unit—the county, the state, the nation. It appears that efficiency in administration, at least so far as the criminal law is concerned, increases with the distance between the administrative agency and the community affected. A county sheriff is more effective than a town constable, and a United States marshal is more respected than either. There is need for uniformity of enforcement no less than for uniformity of law, and a children's code can promote both. For a children's code necessarily takes a broad view of conditions and operates on a statewide scale. But while it seeks to equalize opportunities for children by making toward uniformity in conditions and administrative methods, it must at the same time stimulate and encourage experimental work by both public and private agencies, for it is only by means of fresh enterprises and trials of new methods that our systems of law

and administrative effort can be kept adequate under the ever-changing conditions of our life.

The body of laws we have slowly built up for the benefit of children is a rambling structure, some of whose parts are falling into decay and should be torn down, while the other parts have been put up so independently of one another, without the aid of any general plan, that they show little or no relationship among themselves and those who dwell in one part have access to the other parts only through the most roundabout passageways and devious stairs. The health laws have been passed mainly through the activity of individuals and societies interested primarily in health and having little or no concern with other undertakings in behalf of children. Similarly, labor laws, school laws, and other welfare measures have been separately enacted, and hence legislative measures to promote the well-being of boys and girls, as well as of society in general, are of more or less haphazard growth. They are commonly the result of spasmodic and unrelated efforts on the part sometimes of official and sometimes of private persons and agencies, put forth at different times as the occasion seemed to require. A society interested in juvenile delinquency draws a bill for a juvenile court and the probation system and has it introduced into the legislature; at another session a measure that deals with orphanhood is urged upon the lawmakers by some other organisation; later on, a compulsory school attendance law is proposed by another agency; and at some other time, amendments to the child labor law are thrust forward from still another source. Successively these and other matters are brought up for consideration in legislative assemblies at the instance of their supporters each one of whom has an eye single to the need of the particular reform he advocates, and none of whom, as a rule, understands or gives thought to the bearing which his proposal may have upon other measures of a related character. The legislature is impressed by the special need and the flow of argument, and writes the new provisions upon the statute books. So it is that in this way the body of laws safeguarding boys and girls and securing what we deem their best interests, has been gradually framed, here a little and there a little, with the separate contributions of public and private individuals and organisations each interested at the time in only one phase of the general problem. Inevitably the structure

is of curious form and inevitably it shocks one's sense of proportion. There is no harmony, no co-ordination; its parts do not articulate properly or perform their functions smoothly, and the effectiveness of such laws in operation as a general program is correspondingly reduced. Frequently, laws that are closely related in purpose are contradictory in their provisions and the attempt to administer them jointly only creates confusion, as, for example, in a case where the school law requires a child to attend school until 16 years of age, but the mothers' pension law provides no allowance for a child over 14 years of age—what is a poor mother to do while her child is between 14 and 16? Obviously unless relief is afforded from private sources, the school law will be broken. In such an instance it is the part of a children's code to remove these discrepancies and to harmonise the conflicting provisions with the welfare of the child in mind.

As a natural consequence of this process of accretion in child welfare lawmaking the administrative agencies set up to put the laws into effect do their work without much contact among themselves and without much regard to the inter-relations among the several parts of the administrative machinery. Each is intent upon its own task and takes at best only an academic interest in the work of the others. After years of such single-minded effort in lawmaking and administration it is found necessary to reassemble the parts of the child welfare machinery and to fit them together so that as it becomes increasingly important and elaborate, it shall operate more smoothly and effectively.

In this respect the state is somewhat like a merchant who must take stock from time to time, going over the goods he has on hand to see what is shopworn and what is out of style, what fails to meet the changed conditions of his business, and what needs to be supplied in order to meet the requirements of his customers. For the state must take stock at intervals, just as the merchant does. Some of its laws get shopworn through obsolescence and rusty and dusty through disuse, others no longer answer their purpose because of changes in conditions, and sometimes situations arise for which there is no law whatever. More modern machinery must be installed, new methods adopted, and a better system introduced into this vast business of caring for boys and girls. For our chief object in life is to bring up our boys and girls to be strong men and women.

III

It should be understood at the outset that a children's code is comprehensive, that it is not devoted to the interests of any one class of children, and that the normal child—the ordinary every-day, wholesome boy or girl—is its beneficiary just as is the abnormal or subnormal child who is in need of special care. The real children's code is democratic—it recognises no class distinctions.

The popular concept of child welfare is distorted, vague and surprisingly narrow. Indeed, even among social workers themselves the term is not always given the wide meaning it would seem so clearly to convey. Our ideas of things are often cramped and subject to the malady of reversion to type. We are in the habit of fashioning them upon well-defined models—of conventionalising them, so to speak. Mention a convict and we think of a close-cropped, cow-licked, stripe-clad wretch; although stripes on a convict are archaic, we cherish such insignia in the face of modern penology. So it is with the prize-fighter, the preacher, the farmer, the butcher, the baker, and the candle-stick maker—each is reduced to a type and fitted in our fancy to a symbol which we label as the true representative of its class and file away in our memory for ready reference. It is amusing to see how faithfully the stage and the motion picture worship these symbols, searching the far corners of the Earth for the prescribed type to act each part and never daring, in their choice of characters, to run counter to the public prejudice. These types and symbols were shaped out of bygone conditions and carry with them the quaintness and flavor of old-time customs, but it makes no difference that none of those conditions and customs persist in our day—the pictures in our mind are inalterably fixed. Even our speech is still, to a marked extent, couched in terms of the long ago: a steamship "sails" from a port; one "drives" his automobile and "writes" a letter on his typewriter.

When child welfare is spoken of, one thinks of a poor, little, ragged, sobbing child whose mother is dead and whose drunken father is aiming a blow at him with one hand and clutching a bottle of rum in the other, while the angelic heroine from the charity society stands between them with upraised arm and shields the helpless child. We insist upon the drunkenness and the bottle, prohibition

or no prohibition, and the contents must be rum, not whisky or brandy or hard cider, but rum—genuine, fiery rum. This habit of crowding classes of people, conditions of life, and kinds of work into the narrow limits of these conventionalised images interferes in no small degree with our understanding of new developments and our catching the full significance of what is going on about us. It is unfortunate that child welfare work is commonly thought of only as the protecting from cruelty, the rescuing from iniquity, and the relieving of poverty—action to provide for immediate needs—while the less spectacular but more far-reaching service in safeguarding health, insuring play, supplying schools, and controlling labor is generally looked upon as independent of "child welfare work" and, indeed, as so many unrelated undertakings. Division of labor has affected social service just as it has affected manufacturing—the field has been split up and specialties have been more or less highly developed; but, curiously enough, the term child welfare has come to have in the popular mind and even in certain quarters of the social service world, a meaning restricted to the care of the dependent, the protection of the neglected, the correction of the delinquent, and the training of the defective—subjects which are most conspicuous in the programs of our conferences on social work. The social aspects of education, health, recreation and employment have a place in most of these programs, it is true, but it is a place of minor importance. The workers in all these fields come too seldom into contact with one another either at convention, or in the course of their work and hence there is not on their part a clear understanding of the relationship among their several efforts and aims and they do not get together for concerted action on a broad plan for the general good. In all this work, and it is exceedingly complicated work, requiring skilful handling and unremitting care and patience, the needs of the normal child are entitled to just as much consideration as the needs of those who are stricken in body, mind or estate. Health, education, recreation and employment concern all children, and moreover, most boys and girls are not dependent, or destitute, or neglected, or abused, or delinquent, or defective, but are normal in respect of their home life, their mental and physical state, and their relations to society. It follows that these four essentials to wholesome growth,—health, play, schools and suitable work—necessary as they are to all classes of children, the fortunate

as well as the unfortunate, are of paramount importance. But they can not be secured to children by their parents alone; the state and the local community are chiefly responsible in the matter through the laws enacted and the steps taken for promoting them. So it is that the normal child has his place in any general welfare program along with those who suffer by reason of want, abuse, broken homes or bad environment.

The normal child who lives in a town where the local authorities fail to take proper precaution to protect health, where schools are neglected, and there is no local pride in keeping abreast of other places in public improvements and all that goes to make life safer and pleasanter, is denied the advantages commonly afforded to delinquent boys and girls in reformatories and to the feeble-minded in the special institutions established for their care. It used to be said that the only way a youth could get vocational training was to commit a crime and be sentenced to the reformatory—the only place where it was provided. Happily, this is no longer a well-founded charge against the public schools, but it is still true that, in proportion to their numbers, far more thought and effort are devoted to the interests of our handicapped children than to those of our normal boys and girls. And yet it is the latter who are to carry on, and in fairness to these, the great majority of our children, who, while enjoying the blessings of home life, are nevertheless subject to public provisions in vital matters that lie beyond the control of their parents, the social worker must keep the balance true.

IV

The children's code idea has taken form out of the experience of those who, in various ways, have served the public interest. Its growth has been gradual, of course, but it is only within recent years that any definite attempt has been made to apply the idea in a practical way. It has been made up of two parts: first, the formulation of acceptable standards and of the principles upon which these standards rest; and second, the embodiment of these standards into law with such modifications as special circumstances might require. The first part serves to clear the air, to point the way, to set up a mark toward which to work, and to show why we should strive to reach it. The second part serves to record our progress,

to secure to us the enjoyment of our gains as they are won, and to furnish the means by which our theories may be tested.

One of the striking instances of our attempt to set forth the principles underlying social work and to rear up standards on those principles, occurred in 1909 when, upon the invitation of President Roosevelt, a meeting of representative social workers, since known as the White House Conference, was held in Washington to agree upon the principles governing the care of dependent children. The statement formulated on this occasion was admirably suited to its purpose and has been of great use throughout the country wherever the treatment of child dependency has been undertaken.

Another instance was the agitation in favor of the general recognition of definite standards concerning the employment of children in gainful occupations. This agitation had been vigorously carried on by national societies and culminated in 1911 with the approval by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws of a standard child labor law prepared and submitted upon request by the National Child Labor Committee. This measure was recommended by these Commissioners to the several states for enactment into law so as to promote uniformity of legislative action in this field, and it has been adopted since then, in part at least, by most of our commonwealths, while some of its provisions have been written into the law of the nation.

Again, a standard juvenile court law was drawn by Mr. Bernard Flexner who also collaborated in preparing and publishing a statement of the principles and purposes of the juvenile court and the probation system, for the guidance of communities contemplating the improvement of their methods and procedure in dealing with juvenile delinquents.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Baltimore in 1915, so much interest was shown in the proposal for the prompt improvement and correlation of child welfare laws that an organisation was formed to direct the movement throughout the country and was styled the National Committee for Standardising Children's Laws. Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston was chosen for its chairman.

As a fitting climax to the work of the Children's Year conducted by the Federal Children's Bureau, whose purpose was, in the words of Miss Julia Lathrop, "to put through a child welfare program

for the second year of America's participation in the great war," and as a synthesis of the accumulated experience in child welfare work, there were drawn up at a conference in Washington in 1919, a set of tentative standards in an effort to realise the expressed hope that there might be agreement upon "certain irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and work of the American child." It is interesting that this gathering occurred just a decade after the White House Conference and in the same city, and that it embraced virtually all branches of child welfare work, whereas the earlier conference considered only the treatment of child dependency. And, too, the Washington conference of 1909 was national while that of 1919 was international, inasmuch as guests from several foreign countries were present upon invitation of our government and their contributions were the leading feature of the discussions. Here we have a vivid illustration of the spread of the child welfare appeal and a formal acknowledgment of its universality. The organisation of the Pan-American Child Welfare Congress by Latin-American social workers in 1916, to serve as a common meeting-ground and forum for child welfare workers from all American countries, is further proof of this broad community of interest in all that relates to the well-being of children.

A few years ago this first part of the children's code movement centered itself in agitation for what was called at the time a children's charter. This was, in a way, an effort to co-ordinate and use to their fullest extent the various manifestations of good-will toward children that existed in American society, although it had also for one of its purposes, as its name implied, a statement of the rights of children—a formulating of the principles that lay at the bottom of all these manifestations. So this proposed charter had in it something of the nature of each of the two parts of the children's code movement, but was primarily a seeking after bases of action—a search for light to guide the work aright. It was hoped to get clearly in mind just what were the rights of childhood and then to advance from their expression to the logical arrangement of legislative proposals securing these rights which might serve as a handbook of standards for general use. The charter was discussed at meetings of the National Conference on Charities and Correction and of the National Child Labor Committee, but was never drawn up. The report of the Children's Bureau Conference in Washington

last year, called "Standards of Child Welfare," may properly be regarded, however, as this charter of childhood, for it was an outgrowth of this earlier effort and is well adapted to serve the ends of the former plan.

V

The writing of standards into the law is the more palpable part of the children's code movement and is, as a matter of fact, usually regarded as its only part. It is the obvious function of a children's code to lay down the law on child welfare. But this writing of provisions is really the crystallisation in a process that extends over a long period of time and involves all the experience of the race. As attention has been drawn more and more in recent years to the needs of children, the demand for a more simplified and effective legal procedure has taken form and out of this demand has grown the so-called children's code. This is a late development in the long history of work for children.

It may be said that it had its origin, if anything of so evolutionary a character can be conceded a definite origin, in England. Three acts of the British Parliament known as the Consolidated Factory Acts, the Consolidated Educational Acts, and the Children's Act of 1908, together with amendments adopted from time to time, constitute what is practically a code of laws for the benefit of children in the United Kingdom. The subject matter of the first and second of these acts is indicated by their titles; the third is wider in scope and divided into six parts devoted to (1) infant life protection; (2) prevention of cruelty to children and young persons; (3) juvenile smoking; (4) reformatory and industrial schools; (5) juvenile offenders; and (6) miscellaneous matters such as definitions, safety at entertainments, penalties for giving intoxicating liquor to children, etc. This Children's Act of 1908 was brought prominently to the attention of social workers in the United States both while it was pending in Parliament and after it became effective, and it was suggested that action be taken by the states of our own country looking toward the simplifying, standardising and co-ordinating of the provisions of law relating to children somewhat on the plan of the British Act.

Ohio was the first of our states to respond. Its legislature directed the governor to appoint "a commission to revise, consoli-

date and suggest amendments to the statute laws of the state of Ohio which pertain to children," and defined the powers and duties of this commission in part as follows: "In performing this duty such commissioners shall unify the present laws pertaining to illegitimate, defective, neglected, dependent and delinquent children, and to their treatment, care, maintenance, custody, control, protection and reformation; and shall suggest such amendments and additions as to them may seem best calculated to bring the law of this State into harmony with the best thought on this subject." The commission labored at its task for nearly two years and submitted to the governor and through him to the legislature in 1913, a comprehensive report with recommendations on institutions, state control of charities, juvenile courts, child-placing, compulsory education, child labor, apprenticeship, offenses against children, and widows' pensions. These recommendations were introduced into the legislature as one bill and, with some changes, were adopted that year.

New Hampshire followed suit and in 1913, her legislature authorised the governor and council to appoint "three suitable persons who shall investigate all matters relating to the welfare of the dependent, defective and delinquent children of the State, especiallv the questions of orphanage, juvenile courts, detention homes. desertion, physical and mental degeneracy, infant mortality, accidents and diseases, and make report, with recommendations concerning the above matters, to the legislature of 1915." The commission was duly appointed and a careful report was prepared and submitted but the recommendations failed of adoption.

Next, acting upon the suggestion of social workers and without special authority from the state legislature, the governor of Missouri appointed a commission and charged it with the revising and codifying of the laws concerning children in a report to be submitted to the legislature. Forty-two bills were drawn, covering pretty thoroughly the child welfare territory, but of these only ten were enacted. Here, the policy of introducing the measures as separate bills was followed instead of submitting all the recommendations in a body as was done in Ohio. The expenses incurred by the commission in the discharge of its duties were met by contributions from private sources, for of course no public funds had been made available through legislative appropriation for the purpose as had been done in Ohio and New Hampshire. The program of proposals

having been in large part rejected by the legislature in 1917, the governor ordered that the commission continue its work and accordingly a new and more detailed report was prepared by its thirty members and submitted to the legislature in 1919, together with bills to revise the statutes which were inconsistent or in conflict, to repeal obsolete or undesirable statutes, and to provide in some instances entirely new legislation. At this session the report fared better and most of the recommendations were approved.

In 1916, also upon request of welfare agencies and without special warrant of the legislature, owing to the failure of previous attempts to obtain such authorisation and inspired by the example of Missouri, the governor of Minnesota appointed 12 persons to serve as a commission "to revise and codify the laws of the State relating to children." The commission had only five months in which to work before the convening of the next legislature and therefore did not attempt to cover the entire body of laws pertaining to children, but gave its attention chiefly to the interests of the handicapped. Expenses were provided for in this case also, through the generosity of public-spirited citizens and societies. The report was submitted and referred to a joint committee of the two houses of the legislature on child welfare and the secretary of the commission was made clerk of this committee. Thirty-five of the forty-three bills prepared were favorably reported to the legislature by its joint committee and were passed with but slight alterations and with scarcely a dissenting voice.

At present, numerous state commissions are at work with the intention of reporting to their respective legislative assemblies in 1921.

VI

A children's code is a highly complex structure and yet its elements fall readily into clearly marked groups. First, there is that body of vital laws upon which any welfare program must be based and without which none can be complete, namely, those which may properly be listed under the heading:

Preservation of Life and Health

Included among the matters coming within this group are the segregation and possibly the sterilisation of the unfit to insure a

reduction in the birth rate of subnormal children; the issuance of marriage licenses only to those who are physically and mentally sound; freedom of women from toil for a suitable period both before and after confinement; birth and death registration; the licensing and supervision of midwives; prevention of blindness in infancy; medical and dental care not only of children in school, in institutions, and at work, but provision also for health centers and nursing service for the sake of children in general.

The second group of laws may be termed:

PROTECTION FROM WANT, ABUSE AND CRIME

This group would include the care of dependent, neglected, and defective children; provisions concerning illegitimacy; protection from cruelty and premature toil; regulation of work hours and conditions of labor; correction and prevention of delinquency; establishment of juvenile courts and the probation system; fixing the age of consent; providing for relief of the poor; safeguarding of property rights; and protection from obscene publications, dangerous weapons, etc.

In a third and final group would be found provisions for the benefit of children generally under the heading:

EDUCATION AND RECREATION

Here we should list the establishment of a public school system with provisions for continuation schools, compulsory attendance and vocational education and guidance; social centers; parks and playgrounds; public baths; libraries; the supervision of commercial amusements.

The laws covering these three comprehensive fields are by no means independent of one another in their application, as might be inferred; indeed, their inter-relations are so intricate and extensive as to weave a veritable network which becomes apparent after only a brief study of them and particularly of their administration. Their various bearings are often confusing and give rise to puzzling questions as to the seat of administrative control; for instance, it has been for years and is still, a moot question whether medical inspection of school children is best regarded as a function of the

public health authorities or of the public school authorities. Such doubts and the different ways they have been resolved in practice have been in part responsible for the administrative chaos we sometimes find even in a restricted area of child welfare work. One would naturally look for a simple administrative arrangement in a single phase of one subdivision of one field, but even in so narrow a space the machinery is often amazingly complicated.

Take, for instance, street trading by children in New York City, which is one phase of the child labor subdivision of the general labor field—here one would expect to find direct and systematic control, but instead he comes upon a maze of varying restrictions and administrative agencies. A peddler must be at least 16 years of age, must have a license issued by the bureau of licenses at the City Hall, and is subject to oversight by the police; a bootblack in a shoe-polishing establishment must be at least 14 years of age, must have a permit issued by the board of health, may work only 8 hours a day and only between 8 A.M. and 6 P.M., and is subject to oversight by the mercantile inspectors attached to the state industrial commission; a bootblack who wanders about with his own kit of tools is subject to no restrictions whatever as to age or work hours, needs no permit of any kind, and no officer is assigned to look after him; a newsboy must be at least 12 years of age, must have a badge issued by the school attendance bureau, may work any number of hours between 6 A.M. and 8 P.M., and is watched by the school attendance officers. It would tax one's ingenuity to devise a more absurd administrative plan. And it should be remembered that it relates only to peddlers, bootblacks, and newsboys—children whose work is much alike and who move in the same environment—and yet to give them protection many different standards have been set up, and the departments of health, labor, schools, police and licenses are all called into action.

VII

The well-being of the children of a community may be fairly judged by its laws. They do not reflect public opinion, as a rule, but rather the public disposition. For the general public has no actual opinion in such matters and relies for its standards upon the judgment of those who specialise in the work. It is the public

disposition, the public attitude, toward children and their interests that determines the character of child welfare laws. These laws are the index of a community's status in the humanitarian aspects of our civilisation. They perform their function best where they have been developed out of local thought and experience, and have not been transplanted from elsewhere merely upon the assumption that what has been found useful in one place must needs be useful everywhere. They are of little value unless they are adapted to local conditions and are understood by the people they affect.

One of the best means of bringing about a clearer understanding of child welfare laws and a better appreciation of their purposes both on the part of the general public and on that of social workers themselves, is the so-called children's code. It attracts attention throughout a state while it is in course of preparation and again when pending in the legislature, and so helps to give the citizens a knowledge of their measures for child care and the agencies that administer them. And it brings home to these agencies and to all social workers the wholesome truth that each one is only part of a great movement and must fit himself into that movement wherever he belongs and work with the rest in the common effort to advance. Social workers are not distinguished for co-operation among themselves—they usually pursue their own ends independently of others, even of those engaged in closely related work, and seem utterly indifferent to the constant opportunity for joint endeavor. This aloofness among the workers has been one of the factors in the random growth of our social welfare laws, for each little group has strived to embody its own ideas in their provisions regardless of their bearing upon other parts of the general program, and has jealously guarded its legislative achievements as something peculiarly its own, they have forgotten for a time that what is sought is not the development of their own little part alone, but the complete welfare of every child. It may be that this attitude is due to a failure to keep steadily in mind the principles upon which the work is based, for an understanding of principles can not but broaden one's outlook and lead to a recognition of what others are trying to do in related fields. The children's code brings us all up with a sharp turn and forces us to see our tasks not as individual enterprises but as so many parts of a great structure. In the states where codes have been attempted, one of the conspicuous features of the

campaigns has been the bringing together of the representatives of different types of service some of these meeting their fellow workers for the first time, for whenever a code is proposed all branches are at once aroused, because they know their own work will be more or less reviewed and adjusted. A code is, in one sense, a deliberate effort to promote co-operation and unity of action among all public and private agencies.

The proceedings of conferences on social work yield a wealth of illustrative material but very few statements of principles. It is natural for one to discuss a subject in terms of his own experience in dealing with it, and to tell what he has encountered and what he has done—the pages of reports and addresses are full of such illustrations—but valuable as this descriptive matter is, it is not so valuable as a laying down of the basis for such procedure, a setting forth of the principles underlying it. Practice without theory does not make for orderly progress. Our work can be measured by its results, it is true, but back of that work and its results are certain principles, and these principles are in all cases the guide to success. What are the principles upon which a children's code rests? These are fairly apparent from what has gone before, but may be stated more succinctly as follows:

1. In order to insure sound manhood and womanhood, every child must enjoy the fullest possible measure of care and nurture through the properly co-ordinated functions of the home and the state.

2. Every effort for child welfare is part of a whole. The whole is the sum of all such efforts and is designed to guarantee the complete care and nurture of every child.

3. The several parts of the whole must be so shaped and adjusted that each will perform its own function fully and freely and at the same time in harmony with all the others in the approach toward the common goal.

VIII

Any plans looking toward the framing of a code should include a careful study of conditions throughout the state so that all the aspects of child welfare, whether peculiar to the one state or common

to all, may be given full consideration. In all cases, so far, the children's code commissions have been instructed to submit their reports to their state legislatures at the sessions next ensuing, and this has hastened their work and necessarily made it incomplete. They have studied the laws of other states, have consulted specialists in the various fields, have compiled the acts in force, have recommended new legislation, have suggested amendments to the old, and have prepared reports and able discussions of the matter submitted, but inasmuch as the members of such commissions have been able to devote to the task only such time as they could spare from their regular work, it has not received the attention necessary for thoroughness in an undertaking of such magnitude and importance. Again, the commissioners have nearly all been selected from among the residents of larger cities and because of their familiarity with urban conditions and comparative ignorance of rural conditions, there is noticeable in their reports a disproportionate emphasis upon the needs of city children and the implied assumption that what is good for the city child is necessarily good for the country child too. A children's code is so far-reaching in its effects that haste in its preparation should be avoided and sufficient time allowed to make possible a complete presentation of children's needs. Another advantage of the thorough method is that it enables the public as well as the agencies immediately concerned, to become better informed as to the code's purposes and provisions. The National Child Labor Committee has been active in the children's code movement since its inception in Ohio and holds that the first step to be taken in such work is to make a comprehensive study of conditions so that in the light of the knowledge so gained, substantial progress toward the end sought may be more certainly achieved. It has for several years past placed at the disposal of states contemplating the adoption of codes, its staff of specialists in child health, schools, labor, recreation, rural life, juvenile courts, law and administration, and exhaustive reports of conditions have been drawn up together with constructive state child welfare programs which have been published and widely used in the development of legislative provisions and administrative systems.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation also has lent his aid in behalf of children's codes where they have been

under consideration as well as where the movement had entered upon its initial stage.

The work is being prosecuted with the idea that the welfare of the child is the true emblem of our democracy and that only as child welfare is advanced can our democracy flourish.

RECREATION AND RURAL HEALTH

A report prepared by E. C. LINDEMAN, Chairman, Committee on Rural Recreation, National Country Life Association, and read at the Second National Country Life Conference.

Recreation is the positive phase of the health program. It is nature's preventive medicine. While it is evident that all ill-health is not due to lack of recreation, it is equally evident that a proper regimen of play and recreation may prevent a large amount of physical degeneration. Any leisure-time activity which is pursued without expectation of pecuniary reward may be called recreation. Play is a generic term which embraces recreation but is much more comprehensive. Play is a positive, constructive term connoting zestful activity; it promotes not merely the prolonging of life but the fulness of life. This introductory distinction is made because of the tendency to use these terms interchangeably.

The task of the Committee on Rural Recreation is to discover the relationship between recreation and health insofar as this relationship concerns the population of the open country. We have approached this task from the constructive viewpoint. We are not unmindful of the vast amount of work which still remains to be done in eliminating those forms of recreation which are negative in their influence. The county fair, which has rural reasons for its existence, still affronts its rural patronage with cheap shows and gambling devices. The street carnival, with its "fakes" and its questionable exhibitions, still serves as the first introduction which many country boys and girls have to commercialised recreation. The dance hall operated in the nearby towns and cities and operated for "revenue only" receives its full quota of patronage from the ranks of country boys and girls. Motion pictures which can not run the gauntlet of city censorship may be shown with impunity in small towns. These, and other forms of recreation of a negative sort, have secured a powerful grip upon the life of the open country; and especially upon the life of its young men and young women; consequently they impair the health of the rural population. For

health implies more than physical efficiency. A healthy body is a worthy ideal, but without a discerning intellect it may become the enemy of real progress. One may even combine physical fitness with mental alertness and still produce a citizenship unworthy of the duties and privileges of a democracy. These attributes may become the sharpened tools of the one who uses them to exploit more successfully his fellow man. Social harmony and spiritual idealism must accompany our health program if it is not to defeat its own ends.

The Committee has also approached its problem in the scientific spirit in spite of the fact that it found itself confronted with innumerable questions for which the data of science offered no satisfactory answers. The questions which the Committee has studied are as follows:

I. What elements or phases of bodily growth, mental alertness or neuro-muscular co-ordination are neglected, receive least attention or are perverted in the ordinary regimen of country life?

This is considered to be a primary question. As a part of the health program recreation must be based upon a sure knowledge of what it proposes to correct and prevent as well as what it is to create. This fundamental question raises the following corollary questions:

1. Does farm work and farm life in general promote symmetrical bodily growth?
2. Does farm work tend to overdevelop certain organs, muscles or functions at the expense of others?
3. Is mental alertness sacrificed through the demands of farm labor?
4. Does farm work tend to neglect the development of those neuro-muscular co-ordinations which make possible decisive action, enthusiastic response, optimism?

These questions and a score of others which are directly involved can be answered only by the specialists. This Committee can do little more than suggest them, in the hope that after they are thrown into relief they will receive attention, interest and study. No conclusions upon which an adequate and constructive recreation program may be built will have value or safety until these questions have been studied by the physiologist, the psychologist and

the neurologist. The Conclusions here offered are not based upon adequate statistics or research. They are offered as a starting point for a discussion which it is hoped will be fruitful.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Notwithstanding the fact that farm work provides for an abundance of physical exercise in the open air, observation seems to indicate that:

(a) Farm boys and girls do not develop symmetrically.
(b) The work of the farm seems to overdevelop the major or fundamental muscles, while the finer or accessory muscles are neglected.
(c) Farm life in general does not produce a degree of mental alertness and neuro-muscular co-ordination essential to an enthusiastic and optimistic outlook on life.
(d) Observations with farm-reared young men seem to indicate that the above conclusions are at least partially correct because of the relatively more rapid approach of fatigue when placed on a comparative basis with young men of the cities.

The above conclusions are based upon observation such as the following:

(a) Farm-reared young men in the army camps were slower to respond to the stimuli of play.
(b) Farm-reared young men reached the stage of fatigue sooner than city-reared young men in forms of activity requiring the action of the whole body.
(c) City-reared young men usually excelled at games involving mental alertness.
(d) Farm-reared girls lack the ability to execute properly the actions necessary in such games as involve the free use of the whole body.

2. The second conclusion, which is based upon the above, is this: Since non-symmetrical bodily development is one of the primary conditions of ill-health, the entire question of rural recreation and its relation to health becomes pertinent at the point of determining the exact nature of the malformation and of providing leisure-time correctives.*

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* See paper by Dr. Oscar Dowling. "The Nature of the More Important Rural Physical Handicaps."

II. What forms of recreation are best adapted for the purpose of acting as a corrective and preventative for the non-symmetrical development which appears to result from farm labor and farm life?

Obviously this question has no validity unless it is admitted that the conclusions above are in some measure correct. Because the Committee does believe these conclusions to be, at least in part, correct, it raises the above question. If there is something inherent in the vocation of farming which tends toward unsymmetrical bodily growth, then it must be possible to supplement the ordinary regimen of farm life with recreational activities which will offset this deficiency. In the absence of extended research and reliable data we must base our conclusions upon reasoning and observation.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Since farm boys and girls do not appear to be lacking in size or in weight, and since the apparent malformations seem to be due to an overdevelopment of certain of the larger or major muscles at the expense of the finer muscles, it seems logical to conclude that the following types of recreation are needed:

(a) Games which involve the free use of the entire body.
(b) Games which require precision of action.
(c) Games employing the expression of the rhythmic instinct.

2. From the psycho-physiological point of view it seems also logical that games of the following nature are needed:

(a) Games which require co-operative action.
(b) Games which involve attention, or the use of the higher nerve centers.
(c) Games which are mentally exhilarating.

The last conclusion deserves further emphasis. If the ordinary routine of farm life produces a certain mental sombreness, it is patent that the recreational life of the country should be active and not passive; it should be not only physically energising but joy-producing. In a very large sense the rural populations await, in the interest of the satisfaction of their social natures, just this type of recreative activity. Group games, organised athletics, folk-dancing, commun-

ity singing—these must be introduced into the life of the open country as a preliminary to an understanding of the distinction between exercise and play.

III. Are there certain forms of highly specialised farm labor which are deleterious to health, and in what manner may recreation act as a corrective?

This question is raised on behalf of such farm occupations as cotton-picking, onion and sugar-beet weeding and other forms of seasonal agricultural labor which require a difficult and unnatural posture and demand almost the same degree of monotonous attention as that of simple machine labor of industry.

This is in reality a question of farm labor rather than of recreation. It may also be argued that the number of persons affected by this type of labor is too small to receive national attention. However, if democracy is our goal, we dare not neglect any element of our population. If this type of occupation is inherently connected with the necessary crop and if men and women and boys and girls must be utilised, there must be some manner in which the attendant evils may be overcome or minimised. If the crop is necessary, then the proper development of those who produce it is more important. This Committee believes that in the sphere of recreation there is a distinct hope for ameliorating the results of this type of farm labor.

The analogous evils of industry are combated with a program for shorter hours, more pay, better working conditions and a minimun working age. This is the negative phase of the problem. We must do more than recognise and minimise evils; we must correct them if ever we are to do more than lip-homage to democracy. In the interest of national health we must act upon the faith that the persons who produce our goods are more important than the goods. Organised industry is approaching this problem with the introduction of rest rooms, recreation rooms, recreation directors, etc. Agriculture must also provide adequately for recreational relief and physical correctives for its specialised occupations if we are to build and conserve the vigor of our rural population. It is the neglected elements of a civilisation which always wreck it. In this connection it may be pertinent to point out once more the fact

that the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World had its inception, in the United States at least, among the seasonal agricultural laborers. These men, in the very nature of their occupation were forced to be wifeless, homeless, playless. As is always true in cases of social pathology, this organisation is symptomatic of a disease which lies beneath the surface. Any population or element of a population in which the suppressed desires exceed the normal expressions is dangerous. And play is one of the fundamental human desires or instincts.

IV. What agencies are now at work in the field of rural recreation, and what agencies have proposed programs of rural recreation with an avowed health motive?

In seeking an answer to this question the investigator is impressed with two characteristics of the rural recreation movement. First, the relationship between recreation programs and the health objective seems to be almost negligible. Second, most agencies dealing with recreation programs in rural fields use recreation as a superficial appeal or as an incidental part of a general institutional program.

There are, however, a number of agencies of national character which either have definite health-recreation programs or are contemplating such programs. Those which have come to the attention of this Committee are:

1. The Bureau of the Public Health Service. (Office of the Surgeon General of the United States.)

This agency is conducting a nation-wide campaign in the interest of sex education. Its "Keeping Fit" campaign has already reached a high degree of effectiveness. This campaign definitely implies a health motive for recreational activities. Its illustrative charts are being widely used; a wider use of these charts in rural schools and churches is urged.

The Committee has been advised that this agency is now in search of a man who will be given the specific function of carrying this program to the rural districts.

2. The National Child Labor Committee, which has rendered signal service through its research work in child labor, has definite plans for the future which will be of intense interest to the rural field. This agency is now planning

studies which will reveal the relationship between farm labor and health; these studies will of necessity involve considerations of recreation. A letter from one of the officials of thsi agency clearly sets forth its purpose. We quote the following paragraph from a letter written by Mr. Raymond G. Fuller:

"It is an astonishing fact that there exist no scientific data on the effect of child labor on health. We know that premature labor or too hard labor under bad conditions is physically harmful to the child. But the effects have never been measured. The modern studies of fatigue have had to do with adults and not with children. Our Committee hopes to do something or to get something done that will give us the data we lack. I have been planning to spend a large part of the winter in study and research in the subject of recreation, including a large amount of field investigation. Following up some psychological studies made several years ago, I am seeking, among other things, to work out for publicity purposes as complete as possible a statement of the child labor evil in terms of the nature of childhood, in terms of the instincts and their expression or repression. Of course, the psychological statement of the child labor evil involves the psychology of play."

3. The Boy Scouts of America have always promoted physical activities as an integral part of their general program. The health objective is stressed in their manuals and in their educational programs. This agency is now contemplating a wide extension of its work in the rural field.

4. The County Work Department of the Young Men's Christian Association has promoted health as a part of its four-fold program for the boy and the young man. Its organised groups carry on recreational activities, study health problems, invite speakers on sex education and in various other ways correlate recreation with health.

5. The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association includes health and recreation in its educational program. It is now carrying on a study of typical rural communities for the purpose of expanding this program through its Town and Country Department. It has already held successful health conferences and has distributed health literature which has reached the rural sections. The significant feature of the program of this agency is that it seeks to reach the farm woman and the farm girl—elements of rural population which have been hitherto sorely neglected.

6. Various Boards of Home Missions are calling the churches to an awakening of their responsibilities toward the problem of rural health and recreation. In some cases programs of study and activities covering an entire year are being urged. Notable in this connection is the nation-wide conference held during the past summer under the auspices of the Methodist Board of Home Missions. This conference was attended by more than one thousand rural ministers who returned to their charges pledged to the execution of this enlarged community task which includes health and recreation.

The opportunity of influencing the play life of the country is still open to the religious agencies. The erroneous attitude of inhibition and repression has already hampered the usefulness of the church as a social agency. Insofar as the laboring elements of the manufacturing centers are concerned, the church appears to have sacrificed this opportunity. It is urged that the encouraging steps now being taken by rural churches receive the endorsement and the support of all social workers interested in rural life.

7. The Junior Department of the American Red Cross has plans for stimulating a positive health program for rural communities. In some cases this program will undoubtedly embrace recreation as well.

8. The Boys' and Girls' Clubs organised and conducted under the direction of the United States Department of Agriculture and the various state colleges of agriculture have always emphasised health as well as recreation. The 4-H basis of their program includes education of Head, Hand, Heart and Health.

9. The Community Councils, in their proposed extension to the rural field, are contemplating the promotion of health and recreation as distinct community functions.

10. Community Service, Incorporated, has outlined a program of organisation which contemplates the organisation of rural counties. Since this organisation is the direct outgrowth of War Camp Community Service, which was in turn the wartime adaptation of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, it may be expected that its program will be specifically a recreational one. The Playground and Recreation Association of America had already laid plans and had conducted experimental demonstrations of both equipment and non-equipment types of recreation for small town and rural communities.

11. The National Physcial Education Service is a branch of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. It is a new service which aims to promote state legislation for physical education in an aggressive manner. It has brought about a co-operative arrangement with such agencies as the following:

The Athletic Research Society.
The Society of Physical Directors of Colleges.
The American Physical Education Association.
The National College Athletic Association.
The Society of Physical Directors of Normal Schools, etc.*

12. Official agencies within the various states are at work on both the problems of rural recreation and rural health. Fourteen states now have statewide physical education laws which in some cases carry compulsory sections for rural schools. The state departments of public health, the state departments of public instruction, the state normal schools—these official agencies await the creation of public sentiment for the completion of their task in this field. The regrettable fact of state legislation for physical education is the almost general neglect to make these enactments effective in the rural sections.

CONCLUSIONS

The brief study which the Committee has been able to make of the agencies listed above leads to the following conclusions:

1. There are sufficient numbers of agencies at work on the problem. What is needed is effectiveness, correlation and extension.

2. Before any of the agencies can perform their full task there is needed a large amount of research work; we must have accurate data upon which to build a permanent and constructive health-recreation program.

3. The agencies should provide against the danger of jeopardising the entire movement by duplication of effort.

4. All of the private and semi-official agencies should co-operate in assisting the official agencies, which alone can produce general results on a permanent basis.

5. The Committee urges general support of those agencies which are making research studies. The real impetus of the movement awaits these preliminary studies.

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* See resolutions in appendix to this report.

V. What constitutes a minimum standard requirement of play and recreation for country school children with the view of maintaining an efficient standard of mental and physical health?

The Committee does not presume to be able to give a satisfactory answer to this question. It does believe, however, that the question deserves an answer in order to facilitate the work of the interested agencies and in order to offset the occasional, the "hit-or-miss" types of recreation which are all too prevalent in rural schools. No recreational authorities will agree on an exact minimum requirement, and, of course, the requirements must vary in different communities. What the Committee is here attempting to do is to bring together the various standards which have been put forth with a view toward the promotion of discussion and experimentation.

1. Every normal boy and girl in a rural school should be required to take a physical efficiency test; this test to be repeated at the various age periods. The results of this test should be tabulated in the office of the supervising agency of the county or district. In states where physical education laws are effective this information should also be on file in the office of the state supervising agency. Without this data we can never be sure of the progressive or retrogressive tendency of physical well-being.

   (a) The physical efficiency test offers a splendid opportunity for the correlation of health and recreation programs.

   (b) The physical efficiency test should be preceded or followed by a thorough medical examination.

   (c) In addition to the physical efficiency tests there should also be established certain physical standards for the various ages of boys and girls; ideals toward which the individuals and the school group strive.

2. All normal boys and girls of every rural school should have fifteen minutes of organised and supervised play (out of doors, if possible) every day. This implies that the teacher has been trained to supervise play and that she shall take part in these play periods.

3. From the 4th grade and upward every pupil should have the opportunity of engaging in organised group games or athletics on a competitive basis.

4. In schools where organised group games or athletics on the grade or class basis are impracticable due to the small attendance, such play opportunities should be arranged on an inter-class plan.

5. There should be two periods each day devoted to "limbering-up" exercises. This requirement is not urged on the basis of physical exercise but on the basis of relieving mental fatigue. Such exercises must be very simple and may even take the form of quiet games. Each period may be short, beginning with a one-minute period for the first graders and extending to ten minutes for the older pupils. This period should be used also for the purpose of securing a complete change of air for the school room.

VI. What are the requirements for a good game for the rural community?

This question has been discussed from the broad standpoint of all forms of recreation under Question II. It is here discussed from the standpoint of one phase of recreation, namely games. To the casual observer this question will appear to have but slight significance. It will be asked, Why should there be any distinction between games for city children and country children? Those who insist that there should be no such distinction base their philosophy of play on the inflexible and erroneous interpretation of the human instincts. If modern psychology has taught us anything at all of value, it appears to be that instincts are not inflexible, that they may secure expression in at least three or four ways instead of one, and finally that the expression which the instinct secures is almost entirely dependent upon the environment. One kind of environment permits the free expression of certain of the fundamental instincts while another totally represses these same instincts. It is on the basis of environmental and vocational psychology that the following requirements for a good game for the open country are presented:

1. A good game for the open country is one which is safe to health. Some games which may be played with impunity on the floor of a well-ventilated gymnasium where bathing facilities are also provided, are absolutely dangerous to health when played under the conditions prevalent in the country.

2. A good game for the open country is one in which small as well as large numbers may participate. Under urban con-

ditions it is comparatively easy to promote games which involve large numbers. The natural groups are larger. In the country the numbers are not always available. Children who must attend country schools with enrollments as low as ten to fifteen pupils have as much right to play as children who attend city or consolidated schools. When the children of the country gather for township or county play festivals they should be prepared to play games which involve large numbers. A careful selection of games for the rural school will reveal the fact that there are large numbers of games which comply with this requirement. More of such games —games which may be played enthusiastically by small and large groups—are needed, and it is hoped that the mere statement of this requirement will accelerate their origination.

3. A good game for the open country is one which may be played by both young and old. This requirement does not preclude such games as belong peculiarly to youth, but it aims to add to the repertoire a number of such games as may continue in use beyond the period of youth. Rural recreation differs from urban recreation, in that there are fewer opportunities of "buying" one's recreation in the country. It differs also in the fact that the rural family is still homogeneously related in its recreational activities. A rural play day is a family affair. A country picnic is a family affair. The interest in community recreation will be greatly heightened when the school promotes forms of recreation which may be utilised by the entire family—old as well as young.

4. A good game for the open country is one which may be played by both sexes. The reasons for this requirement have already been stated, namely, the scarcity of numbers in many rural schools and the family nature of rural recreation occasions. Altogether too many of our games make their appeal only to one-half of the population, the boys and the men. In rural communities, where recreation must be democratic if it is to become an integral part of community expression, it is essential that we provide a large number of games which are suitable for women and girls as well as for men and boys.

5. A good game for the open country is one which requires a minimum of equipment. The expensive and luxuriously equipped gymnasiums belong peculiarly to the city. Aside from the abvious fact that the country does not possess the surplus wealth to build and maintain such institutions, there is the psychological value of non-equipment games. The mind is brought into action in play in proportion as we di-

minish the use of paraphernalia and increase the use of the body, including the nervous system.

6. A good game for the open country is one which emphasises the instinct of co-operation. So much of the ordinary life of the country is carried on on the basis of individual action that it is essential to provide recreational activities which promote the "team spirit." This requirement does not suggest the elimination of such games as are necessary to develop individual initiative and action; it merely urges that these forms of recreation be supplemented with those of a co-operative nature.

7. A good game for the open country is one which grows out of the life of the people in conjunction with the community environment. Games, in order to have their fullest influence in the spheres of physical, mental and social health, should be more or less indigenous. The test of a good game is this: Will the community continue to play it after the outside stimulus is removed? Has it enough in common with the life of the community so that it may be incorporated into that common life? So much of attempted rural recreation is feeble and temporary because it is grafted on from the superficial recreation or amusement of the city; it has no indigenous relationship to the rural community and its life. Rural recreation which is merely a cheap imitation of city recreation can not grip the lives of rural people in a fundamental way. Curiously enough, when this viewpoint is put forth it is always combated by those who insist that the country and the city must be brought together and that this viewpoint hinders that process. There is no thought here of making it less convenient for the rural populations to come into contact with the best in city life. But, that best does not lie in the common forms of city recreation. What we are here presenting is the viewpoint that the country has within its own life the germs of its own types of recreation. If this is not true, then country life will continue to become more and more a mere supplement to city life. It is chiefly at two points that this process has received its most decided impetus —the points of economic supremacy and of apparent recreational superiority. A constructive program for making country life satisfying and representative may well begin at this simple point of creating an indigenous recreation.

In addition to the suggestions and conclusions presented in the foregoing sections of this report, the Committee desires to emphasise the following considerations:—

First: Recreation has physical, mental, social, ethical and spiritual implications. Those who use recreation as a mere part of an institutional program, or, worse still, as a mere gateway to the attention of the rural community, should keep this always in mind. This does not mean that only those agencies which are dealing specifically with the recreational phases of life shall promote recreation. We may all promote recreation but we must all be careful that the good which we do shall not be the enemy of the best.

Second: Thus far recreation insofar as it concerns the rural population has been left almost entirely in the hands of non-official agencies. No worthy gains of a permanent nature will be made until all rural leaders and all rural agencies pool their efforts in the demand for officially recognised recreation as an essential to the public welfare. When this is accomplished there will still be room for the other agencies and there will still be needed the refreshing and the revivifying influence of agencies which are not subject to the stultifying effects which usually result from state-controlled activities.

Third: We must become conscious of the full implications of play and we must make this consciousness general. Play is not merely a leisure-time activity; it is not merely an excrescence of modern civilisation. In fact, spontaneous play and song disappeared when modern civilisation came under the sway of machine industry. The rural populations have not yet felt the full deteriorating effects, the nervous disintegration and the consequent reproductive limitations of the industrial revolution. The numerical preponderance of population is inevitably toward the city. The country is, however, still the seed-bed of our population which still must furnish the leadership for both country and city. We still have time to orient the life of the open country to those processes which promote straight thinking, wholesome living and social harmony. We may still look forward hopefully to a countryside which shall be joyous as well as productive, socially co-operative and optimistic as well as economically satisfying. With this vision, play and the playground become not merely the centers for training for physical perfection, but rather the nuclei for making habitual and natural those social virtues of team play, loyalty, obedience to the rules—virtues upon which our future depends. In this light the playground may become the veritable laboratory of democracy.

APPENDIX

The following resolutions were favorably voted on at the closing business session of the National Country Life Association:

Whereas the examinations under the draft law have revealed the fact that more than one-third of the young men examined were physically unfit for full military service, and

Whereas statistics of the Life Extension Institute and of the Life Insurance Companies show this to be only one evidence of a progressive physical degeneration, and

Whereas the strenuous requirements of modern life have an irresistible influence away from natural health-giving habits and vitalising physical activities, and

Whereas these unnatural tendencies can be offset only by the provision of specially planned and directed programs of physical training and wholesome recreation, for both children and adults, therefore be it

Resolved that this organisation shall exert its full influence toward securing state and federal legislation for establishing in the schools a universal system of physical education, including instruction in the principles of health, periodic physical examinations, and health-giving activities; and that this organisation shall support every practical effort to enlist in such activities adults and young people not enrolled in the schools.

This resolution was presented by the National Physical Education Service.

FARM LABOR *vs.* SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

GERTRUDE FOLKS

> "The average farmer usually brings up everything on the farm more carefully and more successfully than his own children."
>
> *J. Mace Andress.*

Child Labor in Agriculture

There are nearly 30,000,000 children in the United States under 15 years of age. Nearly 18,000,000 of these—60.7 per cent—live in rural communities, i.e., those having a population of less than 2,500. Of these 30,000,000 children 10,828,365 are between 10 and 15. On this basis about 6,000,000 children 10 to 15 years of age live in these rural communities. Nearly a million and a half, 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, are employed in farm work, either upon the home farm or "working out." In other words, about one-fourth of the rural children and three-fourths of the recorded working group are engaged in agriculture. Obviously they are recruited largely from the 18,000,000 country dwellers. This group of workers, however, does not come under the scope of the federal child labor law, and surprisingly little consideration has been given to its needs. The old idea that farm labor is good for children dies hard; outdoor work conjures up visions of fresh air, sunshine and green fields; it is easy to idealise it, to think of the country boy and girl as leading the perfect life of childhood. Dr. J. Mace Andress points out, however, in *Health Education in Rural Schools*, that "contrary to tradition and popular belief country children have been found to be as defective physically and in many cases more defective than city children." But disregarding entirely its physical effects, there is yet another sin for which rural child labor must answer: its interference with school attendance.

Rural Illiteracy

It is well known that the percentage of illiteracy in the country is twice that of cities, one in every ten of the rural population being

classed as illiterate. It is not so widely advertised, however, that of the 16 states having a percentage of illiteracy greater than that of the United States as a whole, 15 have a foreign population percentage far below 14.7, that of the United States as a whole, the highest per cent in those states being 8.6, and the average 2.9. And even less advertised is the fact that these 15 states include all but one of the 13 states (all southern agricultural states) which have a child labor percentage in excess of the average for the United States as a whole. The parallel is striking and the conclusion obvious. If rural sections, in spite of a small foreign population, have a very large percentage of illiteracy, it is apparent that country children are not being educated; and when we find that in these same regions, there is a large amount of child labor which interferes seriously with school attendance, it is reasonable to conclude that the work of the children is responsible in part, at least, for the lack of schooling. It can not be attributed entirely to the inferiority of rural education, for even the poorest "little red schoolhouse" can train the child to write—the test of literacy.

Investigations by the National Child Labor Committee

These figures are based on the 1910 census, but the results of studies made by the National Child Labor Committee during the last four years to determine the effect of farmwork upon eduction indicate that conditions have not materially changed, and, moreover, can not until adequate compulsory attendance laws are enacted *and enforced.* Investigations were carried on in seven states: North Carolina and Kentucky, our two greatest tobacco growing states; Colorado and Michigan, two of the three states leading in sugar-beet production; Alabama and Oklahoma, two of the largest cotton growing states, and Maryland, leading in strawberry production. Children were engaged, however, not only in the cultivation of the crops mentioned, but in all kinds of general agricultural work, including plowing, planting wheat, threshing, baling hay, filling silos, cultivating potatoes, corn and other vegetables, drying apples, herding cattle, dairying and caring for live stock. In each state representative counties were chosen and the selection of districts and schools for intensive study was made in co-operation with the school authorities. Six hundred and seventy

schools were visited, and attendance data for 37,837 children gathered. The statistical results for all seven states can not be summarised as the investigations in Maryland and in Michigan were of a more general nature than those of the five other states and the figures not comparable. In each state, however, two indisputable facts stand forth: (1) that farmwork interferes seriously with school attendance, (2) that farmwork causes retardation.

Attendance

Farmwork reacts upon school attendance in three ways: (1) it keeps children out of school altogether, (2) it shortens the school term, (3) it causes irregular attendance.

The United States Bureau of Education reports that in 1915 (the last year for which figures are available) there were 145,891 children, 10 to 14 years, not enrolled in any school, public, private or parochial. Since over 60 per cent of this age group live in distinctly rural regions it is fair to assume that a large number of these are country children. In Georgia, for instance, a distinctly agricultural state, there were in 1918, 1,216 white children and 4,579 colored children 10 to 18 years of age who had never attended any school.[1] The State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Dakota characterises as "a disgrace to any state" the withdrawal of farm children from school—in North Dakota only 30 per cent finish the 8th grade, and four per cent the 12th grade.[2] The State Superintendent of Virginia writes in a similar vein, "The number of children in Virginia who are now not attending school at all, and the number who are attending school with such irregularity as to make proper training impossible, forms an alarming per cent of the total number of children."[3]

In the studies of the National Child Labor Committee it was impossible to secure data for all those not enrolled in school, but enough instances were followed up to confirm the conclusion reached by the Juvenile Court of Weld County, Colorado, in an investigation of the schools of that county, that the reasons which cause a child to leave school are, on the whole, the same as those which

[1] *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1918.*

[2] *Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1917-18.*

[3] *Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Virginia, 1917-18.*

keep him out part of the time. In Kentucky, while taking school records, the investigators learned of 170 white children attending no school whatever. In Colorado several families were found whose children were not in school and had no intention of going. One family, visited four months after the beginning of school, had six children, the oldest 16, none of whom had enrolled, although the schoolhouse was less than one and one-half miles from their home. The father owned his farm of 76 acres, and had lived there for 20 years; yet the whole family was so poorly educated as to be almost illiterate. In Michigan, fully 15 per cent of the children of the 133 "beet families" interviewed had never attended school in America. These families are migratory, moving from place to place, often from state to state as the demand for agricultural labor varies. No one is responsible for the attendance of the children, and they evade the compulsory education laws.

The school term in the country is shorter than that in cities. In a comparison of rural and urban statistics made in 1912, the Bureau of Education reported that the average term in urban communities was 46.4 days (over two months) longer than the average for rural communities. The actual difference between the term in city schools and in country schools is even greater, for the above figures include in "rural communities" towns with a population of 2,500 or less, although the school term in such towns approximates that of the cities more nearly than that of the country regions. This condition is usually attributed to the difficulty of raising funds in the country. Another factor enters in, however—the tendency in many rural districts to subordinate education to farm work. The compulsory education law of Georgia, for instance, empowers the city, town and county boards of education to excuse children temporarily from attendance, and expressly authorises them "to take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need of such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in farming districts shall be excused."[1] Schools in Michigan frequently declare "beet vacations" in the late fall. In the cotton-growing sections of Oklahoma the schools open as late as December and even the beginning of January. Summer sessions are sometimes held to make up for the lost time, but as the

[1] *Georgia School Code, 1919, Art. XI, Sec. 171.*

state superintendent points out in his last report, this is unsatisfactory. It frequently means a change in teacher, the weather is hot, attendance small and irregular, and interest at a very low ebb.[1] The same thing is true in the beet-growing regions of Colorado—in one section the schools opened November 29, and closed May 1, a term of only five months (less than the very low minimum required to entitle a state to receive federal aid under the proposed Smith-Towner bill). To shorten the school term in accordance with the requirements of the farm is manifestly unfair—it not only permits children to miss school; it obliges them to.

The most serious effect of farm labor, however, and the one which has been made the special point of the National Child Labor Committee's investigations, is the amount of absence which it causes. Children enter late in the fall, and leave early in the spring; even during the winter months they are absent from time to time to help on the farm.

The State Superintendent of Education of South Carolina reports that during March, April and May attendance is very irregular, and that the same thing is true during the fall months. "In many schools during October and the early part of November and during the months of April and May not half of the children enrolled will be found present any day. . . . When inquiry is made by teachers and other school officers as to the reason for the poor attendance in the early fall and late spring the answer is almost invariably the necessity of gathering and planting the cotton crop."[2]

Wheat raising in North Dakota has the same effect upon school attendance as does cotton raising in the Carolinas. The last report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction stated that an average of at least 20,000 farm children stay out of school each year for a period of 60 days to help in raising wheat and other small grain products.[3] The remedy suggested by the state superintendent—changing the school calendar year from September 1st to June 1st to October 1st to July 1st—would only partially solve the problem of two months absence for farmwork.

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[1] *Seventh Biennial Report, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oklahoma, 1918.*

[2] *Fifteenth Annual Report, Superintendent of Education, South Carolina, 1918.*

[3] *Fifteenth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1918.*

In Colorado the local school authorities of counties in the sugar-beet growing section estimated that 4,841 children between the ages of 6 and 15 miss from two to twenty-two weeks of school, with an average of nine and a half weeks, because of work in the fields. In one school, four rooms were reserved for beet workers, but when the school opened only 30 children enrolled. This number soon dropped to 21, the third month there were 58 children, and the fourth 125. The Juvenile Court of Weld County as the result of their investigation referred to above, concluded that "by far the most of the children who are withdrawn from school to work are found on the farms." In Michigan beet fields similar conditions were found. One-third of the children lost three entire months in the spring term alone, and these are the same children who will enter late in the fall.

The Montana *School Bulletin*, published by the State Department of Public Instruction, discusses at length this same problem in its issue for December, 1919. "Unquestionably the largest proportion of children who are irregular in attendance at school are out to work. It is customary for hundreds of farmers, especially, to keep their children at home for several weeks in the fall and again in the spring when the spring work begins. The most flagrant cases are among sugar-beet workers who are mostly foreigners, but many American parents are using the labor of children in order to run their ranches." Attendance records covering a period of three years were given for eight children from beet-workers' families—these children had missed an average of 242 school days during this period and had attended an average of 258 days—only 86 days a year.

The tobacco industry plays the same havoc in Kentucky. On one farm two boys, 9 and 11 years of age, were helping their father; the school had been in session for only 74 days, and they had already missed 45 and 25 days respectively for farmwork. In another family the 10-year-old son was absent 51 out of 74 days in the first four months of the school year. In another family, very comfortably situated, the 7, 8 and 12-year old girls and the 10-year old boy all worked in the tobacco field instead of attending school. Their father said, "That's the advantage of the tobacco crop—every child is a hand."

In Maryland, the attendance records of 585 children in 15 schools were studied. Only 305, slightly more than one-half of

these children, had entered the first week; 50 more entered the second week, and 64 the third. An effort was made to ascertain the reasons for late entrance, and of the 132 cases in which information was secured, 97 or 73 per cent reported that they stayed out to work, chiefly on farms and in canneries. These children were all between 9 and 15 years of age. A school with a normal enrollment of 33 opened in the fall with nine pupils; another with 52 normally enrolled, had 18 the first week; another had 17 of its usual enrollment of 40. In the spring, when the strawberry season comes, the situation is even worse. One county superintendent received a complaint from a rural teacher that most of her pupils would not take their final examinations because they were out picking strawberries. In another county eight schools had closed two or three weeks ahead of time because most of the children had dropped out to pick berries. Fifty per cent of the children in one school dropped out in March and April; in another (out of a total enrollment of 30) *one girl* was left at the time of the investigation; the rest were all picking berries. In still another school, with an enrollment of 38, sixteen had withdrawn between February 17 and April 16. Again, an effort was made to secure information regarding the reasons for withdrawal, and of 90 cases, 62—nearly 70 per cent—gave farmwork as the only cause.

Attendance records for about 23,000 children were taken in Colorado, Kentucky, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Alabama, showing the number of days missed by each child and the reasons for absence. On the basis of these figures, the children were divided into four classes: those who had been absent at all for farmwork were classed as "farm workers;" those absent for any other reason, such as housework, illness, distance, indifference, etc., were classed as "other absentees;" those who had moved in or out of the district during the school session were classed as "migrants;" those who had been present every day were classed as "daily attendants." Excluding daily attendants and migrants (regarding whom information could not be secured for the entire school term) a total of 20,100 children was left of whom 8,835 were farm-workers. It was found that farm-workers had missed at the time of the investigation an average of 36 days (about seven school weeks); and other absentees had missed only 23 days (about five weeks); furthermore, the farm-workers had been absent 36.2 per cent of the

period the school had been in session at the time the records were taken, as compared with only 24.7 per cent for other absentees. These figures are conservative. In order to have personal interviews with the children and the teacher to determine the cause for absence, it was necessary to visit the schools before the end of the term, and the absence for work in the late spring was not included.

Irregular attendance is a loss not only to the children whose school term is shortened but to the entire group of children in the school. The following statement from the Annual Report of the State Department of Education of South Carolina is applicable to all agricultural communities. "For the first two months in the fall each teacher is constantly adjusting and readjusting his classes to meet the needs of the late comers. The pupils who could make rapid progress because of their full and regular attendance are constantly being retarded because of the earnest efforts of the teacher to promote the progress of the irregular attendants. After four years of close observation of country school conditions the writer feels that it is no exaggeration to say that in the average country school the pupils who attend regularly for the full session do not accomplish more than two-thirds the work they would accomplish on account of the non-attendance of so many children in the early fall and late spring."[1]

The irregularity of the attendance of farm-workers is reflected directly in their scholarship. The State Department of Public Instruction of Michigan has just completed a study of retardation among 25,218 children in rural schools in nine counties. Of these children 29.2 per cent were found to be retarded, and, based on the judgment of the teacher in each case, over 75 per cent of these children were retarded because of frequent change of schools and irregular attendance. These two factors are operative to a high degree among the children of beet-workers' families, and the National Child Labor Committee's study showed that only 28 per cent of these children were in their normal grades; the remaining 72 per cent were retarded. In one school in Maryland, 7.5 per cent of the children were ahead of their normal grade, 42.5 per cent were normal and 50 per cent were retarded. Those ahead had all entered

[1] *Fifteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, South Carolina, 1918.*

the first week in September and had good attendance records. Of those retarded, only one-fourth had entered when the school opened in September, the remainder coming in from three to ten weeks late, and one-half had left before the term had been completed. The Juvenile Court of Weld County, Colorado, reported that of the 2,078 cases of retardation examined, 53 per cent of the retardation was attributable to farmwork; and that of the 1,410 retarded pupils who had been absent for more than half of the term, 79.5 per cent of the retardation was due wholly or in part to work in the fields. Their conclusions were: (1) That the greatest single causation of retardation is irregular attendance; (2) that the greatest causation of irregular attendance is the withdrawal of children to work upon the farm.

The Montana *School Bulletin*, referred to above also points out the effect of irregular attendance on retardation:

> "Out of 27 children enrolled last year in one school in a section where the majority of children are kept at home to work during the beet-harvesting season and at other times when farm and home work is heavy, 14 children were from one to three years behind their grades. One family of six children, ages ranging from 6 to 18 years, had in 1913-14 a total absence record of 368 days in a school term of 150 days. With such a record of attendance it is not strange that five out of the six children were from one to four years behind their grades."

An inspector of rural schools in Louisiana reported that the children could not pass the simple tests given them. "A number of fifth-grade pupils could not add, more of them could not multiply; the time required for these operations was on an average more than twice as long as it should be, and the percentage of inaccuracy deplorable, while the situation with reference to skill in the use of punctuation marks parallels that in arithmetic," and the inspector placed first in his explanation of this poor scholarship, the irregularity of attendance in former years. It is also significant that in the one parish (local unit) in which the compulsory attendance law was being rigidly enforced, the records of the pupils were much better than in any other parish visited.[1]

[1] *Field Force Report, November, 1917.*

The studies of the National Child Labor Committee in North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Colorado, point to the same conclusions. Excluding migrants (for whose retardation change in locality is in part responsible), age and grade records were secured for 16,806 children. On an exceedingly liberal gradation basis—the three-year basis—56.4 per cent of farm-workers 9 to 15 years of age were retarded, as compared with only 34 per cent of all others. Of those retarded, 28.7 per cent of the farm-workers were retarded at least three years as compared with only 20 per cent for non-farm-workers, and only 1.1 per cent of farm-workers were ahead of their grade as compared with 4.6 among non-farm-workers. It is interesting to note that the per cent of retardation steadily increases as the child becomes of an age to work on the farm, rising in the case of farm-workers from 29.2 per cent among 9 year olds to 86.9 per cent among 15 year olds, and from 18.1 to 70 per cent among all others.

Promotion

It is not surprising that farm-workers are frequently "left back," in many cases as a direct result of their absence for work. A child can not be expected to complete in five or six months of irregular attendance a course of study intended for seven or eight months of daily attendance. In Alabama, for instance, two children of 15 years in the fifth grade were not promoted—they had missed 43 and 52 days respectively to work on the farm. In another school a 15-year-old child was found in the fourth grade. This child had missed for farmwork 83 of the 116 days the school had been held, and was not to be promoted. In another school four children (9, 10, 12 and 13 years) were all in the first grade, and were to remain there—they had each been absent 70 days, exactly one-half of the time the school had been in session; the school was to be held three or four weeks longer, but they were going to drop out for farmwork. Another 14-year-old child in the second grade had been present for ten days, and absent 85 for farmwork. In three states, North Carolina, Alabama and Oklahoma, information was secured with regard to the promotion of all children whose attendance record was taken, and it was found

that there were 10 per cent more failures among farm-workers than among all other absentees. (Daily attendants whose record is uniformly high were excluded.)

Influence of Land Tenure

From 30 to 40 per cent of the farms in the North Central States, and from 50 to 65 per cent of the farms in the South, are operated by tenant farmers.[1] During the course of its agricultural studies, the Committee became convinced that the children of this tenant class were not getting a "square deal" and that they suffered to a greater degree the ill effects of farm labor than did the children of families who owned their farms. Consequently in the last three investigations (in Oklahoma, North Carolina and Alabama), wherever possible the home tenure of the child was ascertained. Excluding migrants, this information was secured for 13,069 children of whom 5,410 were from tenants' families. It was found that among tenants' children farm-workers missed 39.1 per cent of the school term, as compared with 31.3 per cent for the farm-workers of owners' families; and that they had missed on the average 42.9 days, as compared with 34.5 days for owners' children. For the entire tenants' children group, an average of 398 days (35.7 per cent of the term) was missed, as compared with 29 days (25.8 per cent of the term) for owners' children. Again the effect of irregular attendance is evidenced in retardation; 58.4 per cent of tenants' children were retarded, as compared with 41.1 per cent for owners' children, and 49.5 per cent (nearly one-half) of tenants' children failed to be promoted as compared with 36.1 per cent for owners' children.

The higher percentage of retardation among tenants' children is due, not to mental inferiority, but to their greater amount of absence from school for farmwork. It is to be expected that poverty among tenants will be more acute than among owners, for their labor must not only furnish a living for their own family, but must make the farm yield a profit to its owners. They have to economise to the utmost, and can not afford to hire outside help. Undoubtedly their need is great; whether this explains the absence

[1]Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, page 348.

from school of their children or whether it justifies it will be considered later.

Migrants

The child of the migrant agricultural worker fares even worse. Like the child of the tenant farmer his attendance is irregular and subject to the need for help on the farm. But very often he does not attend at all—it is easier for him to follow the line of least resistance and stay out of school than to make continual readjustments to new surroundings, new methods of instruction and new teachers. Statistics with regard to migrants' children were gathered in three of the investigations (Alabama, North Carolina and Oklahoma). It was impossible to secure information with regard to the absence of the children before they moved into the district, and the records of their attendance while in the district did not indicate a greater percentage of absence than among "farm-workers." There was, however, a striking increase in the amount of retardation—62.7 per cent of migrants 9 to 15 years of age inclusive were retarded, and only .7 per cent ahead of their grade. The education of the child of the habitual migrant is a difficult problem. When the family moves from state to state, the child does not come under the attendance law of any; and even the child whose family migrates from one place to another in the same state is not included in the census, and consequently seldom has the attendance law invoked against him. These children constitute an entire class not reached by our educational laws—a class not small in numbers, nor concentrated in any one scetion. They are found throughout the country—in the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, the beet fields of Michigan and Wisconsin, the canneries of New England and of the Eastern and Southern states, the berry fields of Delaware and Maryland, in general agricultural work in Western and Central New York—practically wherever farmwork, with its seasonal requirements, is carried on. The National Child Labor Committee, a few years ago, made a study of 300 Baltimore families. From May to July they had picked peas and strawberries in the country regions near Baltimore; August to October, they had worked in the tomato and corn factories of Maryland and Delaware, and 100 families had spent the winter, from October to April, in the Southern oyster and shrimp canneries. With the frequent changes, the time

consumed in travel, the inclination to utilise child labor in all of these industries—what chance had the children of these families to secure any schooling whatever?

Conclusion

1. Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance Laws

If the chief argument against the work of children in the fields is its interference with education, it is through the schools that it must be combated. The eradication of child labor in agriculture will not come through prohibitive enactment; it must be incidental to an extension of the school term and a strict enforcement of adequate compulsory attendance laws. That this is feasible, even in regions where farm-work makes the most demands, is demonstrated by the experience of a county superintendent of schools in a beet growing section of Montana. She reported to the state superintendent that she had been successful in keeping the children in school, and explained her method:

> "Last year these people were all visited and written to either by the teachers or myself or both and were told that if they took contracts this year that required the entire family to get out the beets it would be their loss as we would insist on the children being in school and would not hesitate to prosecute. We sent out a few letters and had an article published in both county papers urging every one in the community to constitute himself a committee of one to see that all children were in school and report to my office any that were not. As a result not a child in that district so far has been kept out for beet-work."

This community stands forth as an exception, however, not only in Montana but in the country as a whole, for at present, lenient as the attendance laws are in most states, they are a dead letter in rural districts. Enforcement is usually left in the hands of local authorities, and they are unwilling to prosecute their neighbors. In Louisiana, the rural school supervisors report time and time again that no effort is being made to enforce the compulsory attendance law in the districts visited. In North Carolina, of 144 schools visited, 50 made no provision whatever to keep the children

in school for four months—the period at that time required by law. Parents are indifferent, if not hostile, and can not be suddenly converted to giving up the assistance of their children for what seems to them as vague and impractical an idea as "education." One father frankly stated that his boy was worth $1,000 for work during the beet season, but was nothing but an expense if he went to school.

2. Economic Value of Education

There are—as in any child labor field—two classes of families to be considered. There are those who do not need the assistance of their children, but who nevertheless allow and encourage them to stay away from school to work. This class constitutes a large majority. A Colorado family who boasted that they made $10,000 from their farm the preceding year were allowing their two children, 7 and 11 years of age, to work in the beet fields during the school hours. Another family consisting of the father, mother and two girls, 9 and 10 years, worked 40 acres of beets, although they own a good home elsewhere in the state. They board it up for half a year, and live in a shack "in the beets." Another prosperous farmer who owns more than 200 acres of valuable land, nevertheless keeps his 6, 8 and 10-year-old children out of school to work in the beet fields. The school superintendents of three counties in Maryland stated that in their opinion most of the families who withdraw their children from school to work in the fields could easily afford to send them to school for the entire term, and either to get along without extra help or to hire men for the work they now do.

There are some, however, so crushed by poverty that they do actually depend upon the work of the children for the support of the family. This should not be so; it is a short-sighted as well as an unjust policy to cripple the future of children because of present economic necessity. If forced to do without the help of the children either the families would receive other assistance (such as scholarships or mothers' pensions), or the conditions creating the poverty would be ameliorated.

In farming, as in all other industry, education pays, and it is only fair to the child to give him this start for the future. The Missouri College of Agriculture made a study of 656 farms in one

county. Of these 554 were operated by men who had received a district school education, only; the remaining 102 by men who had gone beyond the district school. It was found that the better educated farmers operated 33 per cent more land; they owned four-fifths of the land they operated as compared with three-fifths owned by those with only a district school education; they kept one-sixth more live stock; worked 14 per cent more land per workman; and earned 77 per cent more labor income per year. The report concludes: "While other factors may have played some part in his greater earning capacity, yet from a careful study of the organisation of his business, it appears that education must have played a very large part in his greater earning ability." A similar study was made in Indiana among tenant farmers, and the size of the farm, average capital and average income were directly proportional to the amount of education received. Cornell University conducted another investigation of this kind in an up-state New York County. They found that of 1,303 farmers, 1,007 (77 per cent) had received a district school education only; 210 (12 per cent) a high school education and 16 (one per cent) a college education. Here again the increase in labor income corresponded to the amount of education of the farmer. A comparison was also made between the average labor income returned on stated amounts of capital to farmers with a district school education only and to those who had received more education. In each case the farmer with the poorer education received a smaller return, varying from 48 to 87 per cent of that received by those with more education. This same investigation showed that only 17 per cent of the tenant farmers had received more than a district school education, as compared with 30 per cent of owners.

3. Reorganisation of Rural Schools

If we are to keep the farm boy and girl in school we must do more than hold out a promise of increased earnings in the future. It is a characteristic of childhood to live in the present, and we must provide a type of education that will make children consciously desire to remain in school because the work interests them. The Educational Committee of The First National Country Life Conference, held in 1919, summarising the suggestions that

have been made from time to time by various individuals and organisations interested, recommended a readjustment of rural education to include training for health, citizenship, life occupation and leisure. A great impetus to such a revision has been given by the Smith-Hughes Act, passed in 1917, under which federal aid is granted to states for agricultural, industrial and home economics education and for the training of teachers of these subjects. A measure, such as the Smith-Towner bill introduced at the last session of Congress, providing federal aid for general school purposes, will go even further in this direction. Fully as important as federal aid, however, is the consolidation of rural schools and the reorganisation of the school system on the county basis. Ellwood P. Cubberley, in his book *Public Education in the United States* points out that educational progress has been confined to city schools, and that this is due to the capable administrative leadership made possible by a centralised organisation. He likewise points out that we can not hope for success in our rural schools, nor look for the introduction of progressive features until the district system is abolished.

> "The rural and village schools of most of our States, cut off by law from securing directive oversight from outside the county, and split up into thousands of little unrelated school districts, inspired by no unity of purpose and animated by no modern conception of educational work, have gone along without much change since the days of the sixties. Too often the little rural school stands to-day as a forlorn and shrunken landmark of what used to be an important rural social and educational institution."[1]

The school must again become the center of rural life. Its work should be carried on and supervised by specially trained men and women acquainted with conditions in the country and able to awaken the interest not only of the children but of their families as well. The average rural school teacher today is not of this type; frequently she neither understands nor is interested in rural life, and is not prepared to develop the work of the school along lines adapted to its needs. A recent study of the preparation of rural

[1] *Public Education in the United States.*—Ellwood P. Cubberley, page 466.

school teachers in Missouri showed that from 87 to 90 per cent had not studied any subjects bearing on the economic and social problems of the country school; over 50 per cent had had no courses in rural school methods and management, and 29 per cent had never studied agriculture in their professional preparation, although required to teach it.[1] When the school has taken its rightful place in the community its service will be recognised, and parents, realising that the training the child receives in school is of far greater value than the limited experience he gets while assisting on the farm, will come to co-operate with educational authorities in enforcing attendance. Farmers' organisations already recognise the value of education and are emphasising its importance to the farmer, but until the individual farmer also is converted, he must be compelled by law to send his children to school.

Theodore Roosevelt said, "Our civilisation rests at bottom on the wholesomeness, the attractiveness and the completeness as well as the prosperity of life in the country." Whether or not country life shall possess these characteristics depends upon the amount and the nature of the education which farm children receive.

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[1] *Sixty-ninth Report of the Public Schools of Missouri, 1918.*

KENTUCKY'S PROGRAM OF PROGRESS

The legislature of Kentucky, session of 1920, under the leadership of Governor Edwin B. Morrow, has put the Blue Grass State in the forefront of progress in child welfare legislation. Its record is one of the outstanding achievements of recent years in matters pertaining to social advance. Not all that needs to be done for the education and protection of children has been done, or can be done by legislative methods, but it would be difficult to point to greater achievement in state legislation on behalf of children, barring a complete overhauling of existing laws and thus mending faults and filling gaps. Kentucky has provided for just such an overhauling of the laws, in the authorisation by the legislature and the appointment by the governor of a Children's Code Commission, which will report after study and investigation and make recommendations.

Creation of a Children's Code Commission was specially urged in the National Child Labor Committee's report on "Child Welfare in Kentucky." This report was based on a field study of child welfare conditions and problems, lasting several months, and including the following subjects: Health, Schools, Recreation, Child Labor, Rural Life, Juvenile Courts, and Law and Administration. The report was published in book form by the National Child Labor Committee. It was also published by the State Board of Health in its Bulletin. In both forms the report had a wide circulation in Kentucky and served well its purpose of helping educate the public and of aiding in the framing of bills. Representatives of the Committee assisted personally in giving publicity to the findings and recommendations of the Committee's staff of specialists, took part in the drawing of bills and appeared at legislative hearings. All of the Committee's work in Kentucky was done on invitation and at the request of Kentucky people—state officials, social workers and other citizens. The Committee does not claim the credit for what the governor and the legislature did, not even for any of it, but is glad to have been of service in a co-operative way.

Among the principal contributors to the final result were

Dr. Arthur T. McCormick, secretary of the State Board of Health; Superintendent Colvin, of the Department of Education; the Kentucky State Teachers' Association; the Parent-Teacher Association; the Co-operative Council of Kentucky; the State Federation of Women's Clubs; the Kentucky Child Labor Association; the National Physical Education Service; boards of trade in various cities of the state; the press—and this is an incomplete list. Governor Morrow is especially deserving of praise, and the accomplishment was that of the legislature itself. In both House and Senate there were leaders who had the vision, and among the members generally there was manifest a real enthusiasm for the protection and education of Kentucky's children.

The first "Whereas" of the preamble to one of the health bills—now on the statute books—reads as follows: "Whereas, upon the invitation of the Governor of this Commonwealth"—(Hon. A. O. Stanley was governor at the time)—"the National Child Labor Committee, acting through a large corps of highly trained experts, has recently completed a careful investigation into conditions affecting child welfare, covering the entire state, but more intensive in representative typical counties in every section, which reveals conditions detrimental to proper bodily development and dangerous to health and life in a large percentage of the homes and schools in country districts and small towns, and in the mines and industrial communities in almost every section of the state where they exist"—etc.

In its report the Committee had clearly shown the inadequacy of the funds at the disposal of the State Board of Health, urged the establishment of a Bureau of Publicity and Public Health Education, and placed emphasis on the development of county and district health departments. The legislature has increased the budget appropriation for the State Board of Health from $75,000 to $135,000, and by appropriations for special purposes—establishment of a state tuberculosis sanitarium and state aid for county health nurses—has rendered $165,000, all together, available for health work. A bureau charged with publicity and propaganda work has been provided for, and another the function of which will be to promote county and district health organisation, exercise supervision over county and district departments and co-operate with such departments.

To compare in detail the specific recommendations of the Committee with the specific legislative provisions placed upon the statute books during the session of 1920 is impossible within the limits of this article. Suffice it to say here that in the following enumeration of enactments and amendments the spirit of the Committee's recommendations is discernible where the letter has not been exactly followed.

The legislature has required the State Department of Education, in co-operation with the State Board of Health, to prepare courses in physical education which are to be given to all pupils or students in the common, graded, normal or other schools supported in whole or in part by the state. The same act authorises boards of education to turn over school buildings and yards to proper persons or agencies for use as community play and recreation centers. A vocational education bureau has been established in the state department. New provisions have been written in the law relating to the consolidation of county schools. The minimum salary of teachers in the state has been made $75 a month. The National Child Labor Committee reported exhaustively on teacher's salaries. Many teachers were receiving as low as $35 a month, or lower.

The legislature has changed entirely the old system, or lack of system, of certificating teachers. This was one of the points stressed by the Committee. An act provides for the grading by the state board of education of all persons examined for certificates. The county boards hold the examinations, the questions being prepared by the state board, which issues the certificates. Four classes of certificates are issued. The qualifications are to be raised gradually until 1926, when all applicants for elementary certificates of the first grade shall have had four years of high school work, or its equivalent, and in addition forty weeks' professional study in a state normal school or some other training school recognised by the state board. Other changes in methods and requirements of certification have been made.

Two of the principal needs of Kentucky's educational system, as seen by the National Child Labor Committee, were taking the office of state superintendent of public instruction out of partisan politics and doing the same thing with the office of county superintendent. Hitherto both offices have been filled by candidates running on party tickets. An act or resolution looking toward the

amendment of the state constitution and making the office of state superintendent a statutory instead of a constitutional office was passed. At present the state superintendent is elected by popular vote for a term of four years and can not succeed himself. It was enacted by the legislature that the county superintendent, as executive officer of a county board of education elected by the qualified voters of the county, shall be chosen by vote of such board. The minimum salary of the county superintendent has been made $1,200 instead of $600. The board is to be a "non-partisan" board of five members.

An act requires that the minimum tax rate for county schools shall in no event be less than 25 cents nor more than 65 cents on each hundred dollars of taxable property. Formerly the rate of taxation in certain counties was as low as 10 cents and the maximum could not exceed 30 cents. The state gave just enough money to the counties to make possible the existence of poor schools for six months, and many counties let it go at that, not adding any appreciable sum to that from state funds. Another act looks to the amendment of the state constitution, whereby the state may withhold ten per cent of monies collected for school purposes and distribute the amount with a view to equalisation of school opportunities. The county board may now levy taxes for school purposes without the intervention of the fiscal court.

Upon the county superintendent of education is imposed the duty of making recommendations concerning school buildings, repairs, etc. It is made mandatory on the county board to provide sanitary closets immediately for all schools lacking them, these closets to meet the requirements of the State Board of Health.

A new compulsory attendance law has been written. The law now requires the attendance of children living in county school districts the entire school term. This applies to all children of school age, which is between 7 and 18, unless they have completed the 8th grade, the higher limit having been raised, so far as children in county districts are concerned, from 12 to 18. The school age for children in cities of the first, second, third and fourth classes remains as it was. City children must attend school until 16 unless they have completed the eighth grade or are lawfully and steadily employed under the provisions of the child labor law. The compulsory attendance law is not without its faults still; perhaps it would

have been just as well to have raised the age limit for rural children to 16 instead of 18. Thus it would be the same for both country and city children.

The salaries of the state school supervisors, or inspectors, have been raised, and provision made for two additional supervisors. One of these will devote his entire time to the problem of the one-room mountain school, and the other to that of the problem of the mining camp school in the mountain area of the state. The state superintendent expresses the belief that Kentucky will solve these problems and set an example for the entire region of the Southern Highlands.

Of great importance is the act passed providing for the appointment by the Governor of a commission of five members to make a complete survey of schools and school administration—the entire public educational system of the state. The commission shall employ experts, not residents of Kentucky, to conduct a thorough study and present recommendations to the commission. The commission shall report to the governor. This step is highly indicative of Kentucky's earnest desire to give her children the best possible facilities of education. Together with the creation of the Children's Code Commission it shows that Kentucky means to be thorough as well as careful in what she does legislatively for the boys and girls who are to be her grown-up citizens tomorrow.

Besides the large appropriations for health work and that of $10,000 for the expenses of the education commission, there were other noteworthy grants of money. The two state normal schools each received an addition of $75,000 to their regular annuities. The state university was granted $75,000 for the building of a dormitory and received $40,000 to provide additional equipment in the engineering department. Thirty thousand dollars additional per year was appropriated for work in agricultural instruction. The appropriation for agricultural extension work in the year 1920–1921 is $108,000 and in the year 1921–1922, $126,000.

A provision in the child labor law calling for the physical examination of children applying for work permits, which was omitted from the law in making amendments in 1918, has been restored. Kentucky now has one of the best child labor laws in the South. At the legislative session just passed, a bill designed to weaken the provisions regarding street trades failed of passage.

Among the progressive measures passed was one creating a state board of charities and corrections to "establish a broad and humane and practical policy by the state in the care and treatment of all state wards" and to supervise the various institutions in which such wards are cared for. The new board consists of eight members, two of whom are women. A bill for establishing a Domestic Relations Court in Louisville was passed.

Altogether the record of the Kentucky legislature is worthy of high praise. Whatever faults and shortcomings there may be, the fact of great accomplishment remains. It is the beginning of many things. The action relating to education is but the prelude to an extensive remaking of the school system. The appointment of a Children's Code Commission is full of definite promise. Conspicuous in the legislative record of 1920 is its forward-looking, earnest, constructive spirit.

"I ain't gwine a work till my dyin' day;
'F I ever lays up enough
I's gwine ago off a while en stay,
I'll be takin' a few days off.
Case de jimson weeds don't bloom but once
En when dey's shed dey's shed.
En when you's dead tain't jes a few mont's
But you's gwine be a long time dead."

Little Girl—(*leaving lecture on Child Labor, to which her mother has taken her to make her realize how fortunate she is*)—"That means it will be against the law for me to wipe dishes, doesn't it, mother?" —*Life.*

Government reports are not always so dead as they look. One using then has found the following enlivening statements:

"The H family consists of the mother and five children, the oldest fourteen and the youngest thirteen months."

"She succeeded in obtaining the mother's consent to the removal of the children's adenoids, had them weighed and sent on vacations."

"There were three children—Charles 6, Henry 3, and Anna 8 months."

"It will be the object of the meeting to devise plans for offering better opportunities to the delinquents in Columbus."

"In the case of new nurseries, a yard of playground should be regarded as essential."

An investigator was studying recreation problems in rural communities. He became interested in a musical instrument the

drummer was manipulating. It was an ordinary washboard, called the African Harp.

"I suppose you still use it for the family washing?" said the facetious investigator.

"Yep," answered the drummer promptly, "I've played many an old rag on it."

The Professor's child, a girl of eight, observed an individual acting in a manner as peculiar as it was unusual. "Oh, Father," said she, "Isn't he silly? Why, he's so silly, he's super-silly-ous!"

PSYCHOLOGY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A BEHAVIORIST. John Watson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

As Titchener is the high priest of introspectionist psychology, so is Watson the chief iconoclast of behaviorism. This book is intended for use as a college textbook. It contains all the meat of behaviorist psychology and therefore will have a wide reading among other than college students of psychological science. The reader will find no discussion of consciousness and no reference to such terms as "sensation," "perception," "attention," "will," "image" and the like. Professor Watson says in his preface: "These terms are in good repute, but I have found that I can get along without them both in carrying out investigations and in presenting psychology as a system to my students. I frankly do not know what they mean, nor do I believe that any one else can use them consistently." The subject matter of the volume is human behavior —reaction to stimulus or situation—and its data are obtained from the study of human behavior. The author points out, however, that behavioristic psychology is neither an objective psychology nor a modified system of psychoanalysis.

R. G. F.

THE UNSOLVED RIDDLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. Stephen Leacock. New York: John Lane Company.

Stephen Leacock, professor of political economy in McGill University, always writes with grace and distinction, whether in "lighter" or in serious vein. The present little volume is as safe as it is sane, but his treatment of the subject—the social unrest and the way of salvation—is both fresh and refreshing. In Professor Leacock's view we are between the Scylla of individualism and the Charybdis of socialism. The middle course is the only safe and sane course to steer. Professor Leacock is a strong proponent of progressive social legislation, particularly legislation designed to insure children a fair start in life.

R. G. F.

INTRODUCTION TO CHILD PSYCHOLOGY. Charles W. Waddle. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

This is the best of all introductory, general treatments of child psychology. It presupposes some knowledge of general psychology and some familiarity with the principles and viewpoint of modern biology, but can be read with profit by any intelligent person. Ellwood P. Cubberley, in his introduction, thus describes the topical arrangement: "The first chapter is a historical statement as to the scientific study of children, and serves to set off the present-day work in its proper perspective. The second chapter describes the methods of studying children. The third gives a good simple treatment of child life, from the biological point of view, and puts the subject in proper biological perspective. This is followed by a chapter dealing with human behavior and the instincts, in which the use of the term 'instincts' is carefully restricted within scientific limits, and the usual loose thinking on the matter of instincts avoided. Play, language and drawing are then selected for treatment as representing three typical child activities with instinctive bases, and as illustrating the mental development of the child. The knowledge we have as to genetic development along these three lines, and the teaching of these three subjects, follows. The author then takes up the questions of heredity and environment as showing themselves in the moral nature of children and in juvenile delinquency—heredity, environment and the moral nature of children being the central subjects toward which the whole book has been leading. The general facts and principles of mental development, and some of the established laws for this, followed by a consideration of individual mental capacities, closes the treatment." Professor Waddle's book is worthy of unequivocal commendation.

R. G. F.

TOWARDS RACIAL HEALTH. Norah H. Marsh. New York City: E. P. Dutton & Company.

Have we not attained a place in the progress of civilisation when we should abandon the *laissez-faire* attitude toward all human misery resulting from venereal diseases, prostitution, illegitimate children; unhappy marriages, broken homes and loveless lives as well as perversion of the natural and most sacred instincts? Can we not hope for progress in attacking the cause of these evils when we can give our children proper training and guidance toward right ideals? "Towards Racial Health," by Norah H. Marsh, is a very constructive book, which is full of suggestions of how the parent and educator may guard against the pitfalls which so often result in wrong mental impressions upon the mind of the young child, and of how we may continually give the instruction and guidance that leads to high ideals, the development of ethical values and the sublimation of the sex impulses.

Very recently we have been making great strides toward abandoning our old policy of closing our eyes to the misery caused by venereal diseases, and have actually made progress in controlling these diseases, but we shall soon

reach a standstill in handling this problem and we shall make no progress in either curing or preventing the other evils mentioned, if we do not help our children establish the right healthy moral attitude towards all the bodily functions, give them sound knowledge and high ideals. The material in this handbook should be of great value to all who would grapple with this problem rather than risk their beloved children to the misery-producing *laissez-faire* attitude of the past.

H. H. Mitchell.

The New State. M. P. Follett. New York City: Longmans, Green & Co.

To those of us who are overwhelmed with the realisation of the failure of our democratic form of government, this book offers the open sesame to new conceptions. The underlying principle of the book is that of a "group organization movement substituting intention for accident, organized purpose for scattered desire." This is by no means a new ideal—every new "ism" contains the demand for an organised social point of view. In the economic field syndicalism, socialism, and sovietism, all three much tabooed words, are essentially pleas for group consciousness. In the world of philosophy, psychology, and religion the conception is a group interpretation of life.

Miss Follett divides her book into three fundamental parts: the first is an attempt to ascertain the principles which must underlie any ideal and vital state. The second determines how far these principles are expressed in present political forms. The third describes how these can be applied to the true state.

The principles involved in a new interpretation are: (a) The collective idea attained by collective thinking of a group, a thinking which integrates the differences of individuals and produces a unit thought; (b) a second principle is collective feeling, a sympathy with the group; (c) a third is the collective will. The individual must realise that he can find his greatest freedom in the development of the community. A rather clear distinction between crowd rule and the author's conception of group rule is given and a further analysis of the psychological processes involved in community organisation.

The cultivation of new principles under existing conditions and in existing institutions is the test of its efficiency and here Miss Follett is neither clear nor sufficiently practical. Community centers and school centers are stressed by her as the nuclei for the development of such an attitude toward community life and community organisation.

The presentation of ideas is made incoherent by the unnecessary repetition of words and thoughts. It is significant for the politico-sociological world, however, that more and more books of this type are being written for absorption by the public.

Theresa Wolfson.

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P 02

EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

LEGISLATION

This has been an "off year" in legislation, with only eleven state legislatures meeting in regular session. An unusual number of special sessions were held during the winter in states in which no regular session was scheduled, but for the most part these special sessions dealt only with the special business for which they had been convened, and considered no child welfare legislation. Complete information from all the states is not yet available, but it is apparent that in only a few states were important children's measures passed.

Conspicuous in the year's legislation was the achievement of Kentucky which was noted in the last issue of THE AMERICAN CHILD. In New York the provision for a children's code commission "to examine laws relating to child welfare, investigate their effect and propose remedial legislation in relation thereto," marks a long step toward simplifying and coordinating the confusing laws and administration of laws in that state. The New York legislature also passed a bill extending medical inspection to include children employed in mercantile establishments; but bills revising the street trades law and prohibiting tenement homework failed of passage. New Jersey created a Bureau of School Census to take annual census of all children between the ages of 5 and 21 years. Louisiana placed a mother's pension law on its statutes, but a bill to regulate street trading in that state failed to pass the upper house. Further regulation of children on the stage was provided in Maryland, where a bill was passed requiring permits for children under 16 appearing in theatrical performances.

In several states, however, there has been a definite step backwards in child welfare legislation. In Virginia the child labor law was amended to permit children 12 years of age to work in canneries when schools are not in session—this in spite of the fact that, under the federal child labor tax law, employers who take advantage of this provision to engage children under 14 years of age will be liable

to the 10 per cent federal tax on their net profits for the year. In Delaware the school code adopted last year was amended at this year's special session of the legislature. Among the changes is a reduction of the required term of school attendance from 180 to 120 days for children having a proper excuse for absence—agricultural work being named as a proper excuse.

A bill to regulate child labor in the District of Columbia rested in committees of both the Senate and the House at the adjournment of Congress.

MISSOURI LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The section of the child labor law of Missouri which prohibits the employment of children under 16 years of age in proximity to dangerous machinery has been declared by the Supreme Court of that state to be unconstitutional. The opinion of the Court was written in the appeal of a suit brought against a milling company by a boy 15 years of age who was injured while employed in a corn mill. The boy's employment was supposedly illegal under section 1726b of the child labor law. The trial court awarded him $5,000 in his suit, but the Supreme Court reversed the finding of the lower court, holding that, since the words "prohibiting the employment" were not included in the title of the act, which was called "an act to regulate," the section in question violates the constitutional requirement that "the subject of the act must be clearly expressed in the title." Missouri children thus lose one of the most necessary safeguards which have been thrown about their employment, the importance of which is recognized in more than half of the states. It is hoped that the Missouri legislature will not be long in re-establishing this provision in its child labor law, but with the higher standard age limit of 18 years.

NO DECISION ON FEDERAL LAW

The Supreme Court adjourned on June 7, without rendering any decision on the question of the constitutionality of the federal child labor tax law. The Court will reconvene in October. The Bureau of Internal Revenue announces that it will continue to enforce the provisions of the tax law in all parts of the country, pending the decision of the Court.

PRESIDENT'S INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

In its report on industrial problems, the Industrial Conference, called by the President in December and reconvened on January 12, "urges upon all states not having adequate legislation upon child labor and compulsory education that they give these topics prompt and sympathetic consideration." Section 5 of Part IV of the report declares that:

> "The Federal Government has already recognized the unsoundness in the economic use of the nation's resources of permitting the entrance of young children into industry. Such a practice results in the progressive degeneration of the race and tends to impair the human resources of the country on which the coming generation must rely. The matter cannot wisely be left to the sole initiative of the separate states. Such a course is not only unfair to the states which have attempted to deal with the problem. It places a premium upon states which are willing to subordinate the future well-being of their citizens to a present questionable competitive advantage in industry.
>
> "In considering child labor, as well as in other aspects of the industrial problem, a differentiation should be made between the various employments which the children enter. The entrance of children of tender years into a mill or factory tends to stunt their development, and injure the race. The argument that the child is thus enabled to learn a trade is unsound. For the trade may be more quickly learned, with greater opportunity for subsequent progress, by a boy of sixteen who has spent ten years in elementary schooling, than by a boy who loses the opportunity for intellectual and sound physical development by entering the mill at ten or twelve. On the other hand, the employment of children in agriculture may, if wisely supervised, develop physique and lay a good foundation for their more formal education in the country school.
>
> "But sheer prohibition of child labor is, at best, only a negative attack upon the problem. It is not thoroughly effective in promoting the economic welfare of the nation unless the time now spent by the child in industry is devoted to adequate schooling and to activity which will develop his physical well-being. We must not only protect our children from the physical degeneration which results from an early entrance into the mill or factory, we must enable them by education to take their place in society.
>
> "It is a startling fact that of the 5,516,163 illiterate persons of over ten years of age in the United States at the last census, over 68 per cent were native born. There were approximately as many native born white illiterates as there were foreign born. The problem is not, therefore, solely or primarily due to the large influx of foreign men and women from the less literate countries of Europe. It is primarily a condition

of illiteracy among our own people, and the lowest percentage of illiteracy (1.1 per cent) was among the native born children of foreign or mixed parentage.

"Not only are the prohibition of child labor and provision for compulsory elementary education complementary; the age limits for these two classes of legislation should be, as far as possible, the same.

"Up to the present, the Federal Government has not been able to deal comprehensively with the subject of child labor. The present federal child labor tax law imposes a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of any mine or quarry which employs children under sixteen years of age, and of any manufacturing establishment which employs children under fourteen. It makes no provision which assures the non-employment of children in street trades and various blind alley occupations during the time they should be at school.

"The fact that the former federal child labor law has been declared unconstitutional should not be interpreted as registering or encouraging popular sentiment against such legislation but rather as occasion for arousing public sentiment in the interests of the rights of childhood.

"The intimate relation between these rights and both compulsory education and child labor legislation suggests that the ideal solution of the problem would be reasonable uniformity by all the states in their legislation upon these topics. The Conference, believing that the education and welfare of the childhood of the country is not entirely a local interest, urges upon all states not having adequate legislation upon child labor and compulsory education that they give these topics prompt and sympathetic consideration. Already in forty states compulsory education up to the age of sixteen with certain exceptions, has been provided for. This has opened the way for consistent legislation upon the question of child labor. Under legislation of this character experience is rapidly demonstrating that the economic, as well as other vital interests of the country, are best conserved by lengthening the period of education. This makes possible a normal physical, intellectual and social development of the youth of the country."

CHILD CROP ON THE FARM

Everybody ought to read the report of a survey of 10,000 rural homes recently conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture. In this report the farm woman of America tells her own story; in it she is discovered. It is a rather startling story, full of surprises, gripping the interest from beginning to end. We note here something about children. There were few of them. In 7,467 farm homes there was an average of but 1.18 under 10 years of age. The number of children in farm homes in

the east falls below the country-wide average, the survey showing 0.9 children under 10 years and 0.77 children between 10 and 16 years, on a basis of 2,573 reports, while that in the western section is the highest with 1.4 children under 10 years (1,734 reports) and 0.97 children between 10 and 16 years (1,823 reports).

Florence E. Ward in the *Weekly News Letter* of the Department of Agriculture, comments as follows: "In any event child life is at a premium in rural districts, and for the future of our agriculture, if for no other reason, an intelligent effort should be made and as much money expended to safeguard the child crop on the farms as to safeguard other crops that have to do with building up the farmstead."

The National Child Labor Committee is intensely interested in this problem of child conservation in rural America. It has found that the child is at a premium in many rural homes and districts as a farm laborer. This is particularly true of the areas of tenant farming, but the tiller of his own soil is not without blame. Saving the child for the farm country means primarily saving him for his own maximum efficiency and happiness. It means saving him from child labor—that is, from excessive work—and means also giving him good schools and a good education and proper opportunities for recreation and social enjoyment. It means much else in the way of the rebuilding of American rural life, in which we hope to see him bearing his full share. But he ought not and doesn't have to stay in the country unless he wants to. *He won't* —unless he wants to.

LIFE IN SOUTHERN MILL TOWNS

Of considerable interest is the series of full-page illustrated articles (or rather, advertisements) which a group of Southern cotton-mill operators is financing in the *Washington Post.* It has been running for several months, but apparently is scheduled to run for many months to come, so we are still looking forward to a lot of interesting reading matter. Why the *Washington Post*? Perhaps because it will reach more Congressmen and Senators there than anywhere else, and goodness knows they ought—as a matter of duty—to be well read and well informed, if anybody ought.

The announcement of this series on "Life in the Southern Cot-

ton Mills" tells us that—"For two months experts have been carefully investigating Southern cotton mills and cotton mill cities, with a view of laying before the American public the true story of the remarkable strides that have been taken in Southern welfare work, the happy and contented life that Southern cotton mill operatives lead, and the remarkable educational and recreational advantages that are theirs." The experts, as the succession of articles well shows, have kept that view in view without a doubt. When we read that there is no housing problem in these towns we naturally think of Paradise. Everybody is housed and well housed. We'd like to live there for many other reasons. The children have perfectly wonderful schools. Illiteracy is almost unknown from childhood to old age.

The cotton mill owners of the South—many of them—are doing splendid things, no doubt. There is no reason why they should not do them. We have no objection to their taking "remarkable strides," as indeed they have. But we wonder a little. We wonder if the glorious conditions described in this series of articles are general in cotton mill towns, or simply represent outstanding pieces of good work. We wonder if all the advantages described are actually available to all the children of each community or if perhaps some of the children have other things to do than go to these excellent schools and play on these excellent playgrounds. We wonder where the people and their representatives in the state legislatures have been all these years, that protection and education of children have been left in large part to philanthropic mill owners; in respect to health and schools and some other things vital to a democracy it almost seems as if there may have been opportunity for the state to do certain bits of welfare work on its own account. We wonder if these same mill owners, in case the federal child labor law should be declared unconstitutional, will seek to have their state legislatures (no offense meant by the word "their") pass laws putting an end to the ten-hour day for child laborers in factories and prohibit children from going to work in factories before the age of 14. That chance may come and it will be a test of real interest in and devotion to the welfare of boys and girls—the labor supply of tomorrow, not rightfully of today.

We presume the articles are being published principally as an advertisement of goods. Consumers of goods have a right to know

the conditions under which those goods were produced. They have a right to know and will know before many years have passed that nothing they buy has become theirs at the expense of any child.

COUNCIL FOR CO-ORDINATING ACTIVITIES

Several welfare agencies engaged in child-health work and having definite programs of procedure and purpose have formed a Council for Co-ordinating Child Health Activities. These agencies are the National Child Labor Committee, the Child Health Organization of America, the American Red Cross, the American Child Hygiene Association and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. Other agencies will be added. Major Homer Folks and Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy represent the National Child Labor Committee.

Through the Council each of the agencies will be kept informed of what the others are doing and planning, and not only will the Council serve to avoid duplication of effort but also to effect co-operation both in general and in special enterprises. Each agency will seek to define its program still more clearly in the light of better information as to the work carried on or contemplated by the others, and will from time to time submit its plans to the Council for discussion. Methods of child-health work will be discussed. Through the Council, each agency will receive the benefit of suggestions and criticisms made in conference, and experience will be pooled. The Council does not supersede the agencies represented, and does not have any authority of its own. It is a medium of communication and co-operation.

BREVITIES

From Georgia comes the news that the new compulsory attendance law has crowded the schools with about 40,000 new pupils since January 1, 1920.

The word from Massachusetts is less encouraging: "The number of working children in Massachusetts," says the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, "has increased so that one-half of the population now begins work at 14 years of age. Of the 60,000

children who each year become 14 years of age in Massachusetts, 30,000 leave school for work during that year."

A comparison of the delinquency of children who are employed and children who are at school shows that about three working children to one school-attendant appeared before the children's court of Buffalo in 1919.

The Iowa State Board for Vocational Education is conducting part-time dull-season courses in agriculture in four counties at 19 different centers. The classes are open to persons over 14 years of age who are engaged in farming, and are in session five days a week for ten weeks. The course comprises both classroom and laboratory instruction.

The Ohio Consumers' League reports that in Cleveland, in 1919, 72 per cent of the boys between the ages of 15 and 20, and 64 per cent of the girls between 16 and 20 were at work. Five hundred applicants for work permits were temporarily refused permits because of physical defects, while 4.8 per cent of the girls and 8.6 per cent of the boys at work are subnormal.

A big increase in the number of children obtaining both vacation and permanent employment is reported in Milwaukee. In the first two weeks of July, 4,712 permits were issued in that city to children between the ages of 12 and 17 years, the number issued for the same period last year being 1,806. Similar increases are reported from other cities. The District of Columbia, however, reports a decrease in the number of permits issued in the year ending July 1, 1920.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue has given warning in Virginia that the state law, recently passed in that state, permitting children 12 years of age to work in canneries, will not in any way relieve employers who take advantage of its provisions from paying the federal tax of 10 per cent of their year's profits for the employment of children under 14 years of age. Nor will certificates of age issued by the state be accepted in lieu of federal certificates, and employers are cautioned to keep on file federal certificates of age for all children under 16 years.

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FIFTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR

The Fifteenth National Conference on Child Labor was held at New Orleans April 15, 1920. General theme: "The National Child Labor Committee at Work." The speakers at the forenoon and afternoon sessions were members of the Committee's staff, and the program was designed as a report to the public of what the Committee is doing—what it is finding and what it is accomplishing in the child labor and allied fields. The interrelations of all these fields and the practical bearings of all effort of the Committee on the child labor problem were strikingly shown. The addresses were followed in each case by interesting and valuable discussion.

At the morning session, at which Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, presided, Wiley H. Swift, Special Agent on Law and Administration, Mabel Brown Ellis, Special Agent on Juvenile Courts, and Dr. Harold H. Mitchell, Special Agent on Health, each discussed present needs and standards in their respective fields. Their addresses are printed in the following pages. Papers by Gertrude H. Folks, Special Agent on Schools, and Raymond G. Fuller, Publicity Director and Special Agent on Recreation, read at the afternoon session, are also printed here. Dr. Clopper, speaking at the afternoon session, discussed child welfare surveys and children's codes. The substance of his remarks appeared in his article on "Children's Codes," in the May issue of THE AMERICAN CHILD. Josephine J. Eschenbrenner, Membership Secretary, spoke on "Child Welfare and the Citizen's Responsibility," reviewing her experience in the task of making the contact between those who are actively engaged in this work and those who are supporting it.

Charles E. Gibbons, Special Agent on Agriculture, discussed the problem of "Child Labor and the Tenant Farmer." The children of the tenant farmer, he said, do not fare as well, usually, as the children of the owner. Instability of income, frequent

shifting from place to place, and the lack of the right kind of food are factors in the tenant farmer's living conditions which deprive his children of even such educational and health opportunities as are available for children of farm owners. As a step toward the solution of the problem, Mr. Gibbons urged the need for closer understanding and co-operation between landlord and tenant, both for their own mutual well-being and for the welfare of their children. Mr. Gibbons is preparing for publication in a later number of THE AMERICAN CHILD a paper on the salient aspects of the agricultural problem in relation to child labor.

Dr. Felix Adler was to have spoken the same evening at a joint session of the Child Labor Conference with the opening meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, but on account of a railroad tie-up was prevented from reaching New Orleans in time. He spoke at a later meeting of the Conference of Social Work; the substance of his remarks is printed herewith. The address of Dr. Lovejoy as president of the National Conference of Social Work will be reported in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, and is therefore not printed here. The same is true of addresses given by Dr. Clopper, Mr. Swift and Mrs. L. B. Bush, all of the Committee's staff, at a joint meeting of the National Child Labor Committee with the Children's Division of the National Conference of Social Work.

A NEW-OLD METHOD OF APPROACH

WILEY H. SWIFT

Public opinion has been to school. Prior to 1910, the effects of social education were beginning to be strikingly evident. Political parties began to write social planks. The whole plan of life was lifting and all children, not a part, but all, were coming in for consideration. In time this process of education might and probably would have carried us to the point where we now stand. It would, however, have taken many years. Social construction under ordinary circumstances is a painfully slow process.

A new force came into the field some years back and its lifting power was tremendous. One had to shut his eyes to fail to see effects springing directly out of this new factor. While the public was being taught social righteousness, business men were taking courses in economics. They were learning that costly machinery must be run to fullest capacity and that this requires intelligent operation, intelligent operators. They were learning that with the expansion of business, and the development of absolutely new industries the supply of workers was being heavily drawn upon. At the same time they saw that the flow of workers from the back country was being cut short by education and improved economic conditions and by the very limits of the power to reproduce. American wives were getting tired of being in a constant state of pregnancy from the age of eighteen to forty-five. They were beginning to demand a little rest from their labors before death.

These two forced employers to give thought to the conservation of their help. It was recognized that the average worker was wearing out all too quickly for successful business and that steps should be taken to save him out of the junk pile for a while longer. So came a very healthy movement among employers for shorter hours, for the abolition of child exploitation, always an economic blunder, for better housing, and sanitary arrangements, better health, better schools, a better community life. Every employer now desires

first of all a race of strong contented workers and seeks aid from all sources to this end. It is an economic matter, and employers are now wise in their day and generation. The result is that employers have ceased to oppose and have come to co-operate in social construction. I know that there are exceptions, individual and state. They help in that they are exceptions. We point them out as the bad boy of the community is pointed out. We are almost thankful for these exceptions.

These two forces acting together were producing evident and striking results. Those of us who were watching the children of the country saw great improvement in every state. And while we were looking at it a third great force came into view: the war. War always has a direct economic and social effect.

With reference to children there were two distinct periods of the war, short as our part in it was. First, there was the period of insanity. Everybody started running around hunting for something to do to help win the war, and in the excitement of the times a large number of good Americans decided to sacrifice boys and girls—a vain, senseless, sinful decision, but a very real one. Fortunately, we recovered from that folly and entered the period of sanity. In the midst of war we began to plan to save our country by growing that which no country can long be great without: strong men and women. The war-draft stunned us by its revelations of our national weakness not only as to physical strength but also as to effective training. Among other things it showed the deficiencies of the great back country. Rural America, where most of our children still live, came under the glasses and we, for the first time, saw it as it is.

The result was that the American people turned at once in a body to the matter of providing both care and opportunities for all our children. "Back-to-School" drives became nation-wide and many new agencies entered the field of child welfare for the purpose of safeguarding the country.

The result of all this was that the National Child Labor Committee was actually pushed along paths upon which we had just begun to walk. We began to study intently life in the back country, the rural child, and our discoveries have been astounding. The problem of child care in this country is not primarily a city problem. It is a rural problem. We were brought to a very deep realization

of the fact that an intelligent handling of the question of the employment of children demands:

That the rural child be included. It is as much a crime to work a child to his hurt on a farm as in a mill.

That steps be taken to insure good health of children. It is a bad thing to have a sick child go to work in a mill or a store. It is almost as bad to leave whole families of children to fail to grow into strong men and women because of the lack of a little instruction and care.

That proper schools be provided and that children be placed in them. Ignorance is ignorance whether in the city or in the country. In either place it is a weight hanging to the feet of liberty.

That provision be made for the best care of all defective, neglected, dependent and delinquent children.

Having been pushed along these lines by the forces of the life about us we find ourselves now at the center of the child welfare movement. We could not have held ourselves out of it if we had wished to do so. The constructive worker must bear all these different branches in mind. The employer must think of them else he does not think economically; and social economy is not so very different. Patriotism can never forget these.

Let us consider where we now stand: The employer is vitally interested in the development of children, but as an employer, only in so far as it concerns his help or possible supply of help and the taxes which may be assessed against him. In good reason he can not be expected to go beyond that. His direct interest in child welfare will be bounded by the limits of his own mill-village and counting all these only a very small percentage of all the children will come within the range of his concern. We can not rely upon him to make the whole social life good. He necessarily stops at the point where the best and most enduring force of workers is guaranteed. Much of the higher welfare of children rises above that point.

The war-feeling is subsiding. We have almost forgotten about the war. Many of the forces for child welfare are scattering. We do not feel them as we felt them one year ago.

And still there lies the great back country, the home of most of our children, a land unknown to special social constructive agencies. More than that, try as we may it will be in thousands, millions of cases an impossibility to reach these children by the usual legal methods.

And yet they must be reached, and that becomes in my opinion the one big job of this Committee—to make the country a good place for a child to live in.

In the main we have but one method of approach. It is the method which was first used by this Committee with great success—education. For the sake of the child and for the sake of the country, there must be education in and for health, efficiency, good living, good homes, good community life. The child and the country will not be safe until all the people know what is best and want it so much that they will demand it. The approach to all child welfare work is along the road of education.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE CHILD LABOR PROBLEM

RAYMOND G. FULLER

I

My desire is merely to call attention to some of the elements of value in a psychological approach to the child-labor problem. My suggestion is that the data of modern psychology are increasingly valuable to the understanding and interpretation of the child-labor evil, and that in the actual procedure of child-labor reform we shall yet find psychology of immense practical service. I do not exclude from the meaning of child-labor reform exactly what the words imply: the reform of child labor.

The evil of child labor is not to be measured wholly in terms of what child labor does to some children; it has to be measured again in terms of what society ought to do for all children—that is, it is a matter very largely of experiences and opportunities denied. Again, in measuring the evil in terms of the effects of child labor we can not consider only the physical effects, we must consider also the psychical effects. Then, in recognizing the fact that the destiny of most children is some sort of employment sooner or later, we are concerned with the question of vocational fitness, which is more than a matter of physical fitness or even of training in the technics of an occupation; we are concerned with vocational guidance that regards the special aptitudes and abilities of the child. Vocational guidance must go farther than that. It must discover the psychical weaknesses and defects in the child that render one occupation less favorable than another. Moreover, there is need of finding out and clearly formulating the real differences between *child labor* and *children's work*, so that in our condemnation of the former we shall not overlook the virtues and values of the latter. On each of these points modern psychology already has something significant to say.

Psychology is no longer confined principally to the study and classification of conscious states; it is the science of behavior and

the integrations of personality. The newer psychology, the comparative, evolutionary, genetic psychology that is based largely on objective, observational and behavioristic methods of study, is rich in utility and suggestion for the student of the child labor problem. This biological psychology is sociological in a degree in which the older psychology never was. It is a scientific instrument becoming better and better adapted to the furtherance of humanitarian and educational ends. We have a Child Psychology of growing applicability to pedagogical practise, judicial procedure and industrial betterment. We have a Child Psychology applied to schooling, a Child Psychology applied to play and recreation, but not yet a Child Psychology applied to labor.

II

Much has been said of children's rights in connection with the child labor problem. But with reference to what basic considerations, what sources of knowledge, what principles and facts, are we able to determine what children's rights may be? There are two questions to be asked and answered in the determination of the rights of children. The first has to do with the function of childhood: What do children need by way of preparation for adult life and service to the group? The second has to do with *their own nature*: What do children need, considered *as* children—what do children need by reason of the sole fact that they *are* children? While these two questions are different, they are not divergent: indeed they are convergent.

Now, though it is true, undoubtedly, that we ourselves need in child labor reform a social vision, a social conception of the child labor evil and the objective in child labor reform—in a word, an humanitarianism broader than the old humanitarianism of pity and tears for the individual exploited child—it is equally true that our central and dominant interest should be in the child, the child as child. He is our proper point of departure in child labor reform. The elder economists used to talk about the economic man, as if he were a separate and distinct being from other men; but that viewpoint has been discarded. There is no economic man, merely as such. There is likewise no child laborer, merely as such. There is, instead, a child. We may consider the child in connection with

child labor; we may consider child labor in connection with the child; but in either case we need to know *what the child is*, by nature.

So, of high importance is the comparatively new science of Child Study, or Child Psychology, of which G. Stanley Hall is the founder and chief inspirationalist in America. This great teacher and preacher of the gospel according to childhood has emphasized the fact that in both body and mind the child is a product of aeons of racial inheritance and that in neither can he be rightly understood except as a product of the past and a prophecy of the future. He has emphasized relationship between racial inheritance and individual development and between physical development and psychical. The signal accomplishment of Child Study is this, says Waddle: "It has proved the child to be not an adult in miniature, either physically or mentally, but a totally different being. His body is not merely smaller; it is different in every fibre. His mind is not merely quantitatively different, it is different in kind." Abundantly has this science substantiated the assertion of Rousseau, "Nature would have children be children before they are men," and confirmed the truth of Ruskin's words, "To become a man too early is to become a small man."

Out of the nature of children arise their needs; and out of children's needs, children's rights. As the primary and principle right of children is the right to childhood, so it is also the right to a full childhood and a normal childhood, which really amount to the same thing. A normal childhood is the prerequisite of a normal, fully efficient adulthood. What constitutes a normal childhood? This is the most important question in the entire field of child welfare. The answer will not be attempted here, beyond the pointing out that a normal childhood is one of natural development in accordance with developmental needs, that development of body or of mind depends on previous development, and that between physical and psychical development there is close correlation and more or less interdependence.

III

Childhood is peculiarly and pre-eminently the motor period of life. The child's great need is muscular activity, which is also neural and psychical. His nature demands it. His growth and his health—both physical and psychical—depend upon it. Without

it, the establishment of proper and necessary co-ordinations in the neuro-muscular system, and of that constitutional unity which the ancient Greeks described in the phrase, "A sound mind in a sound body," is impossible. But there are appropriate and inappropriate times in the course of the child's development for certain kinds of activity. There are serious dangers in the wrong kinds at certain stages. There are kinds that are wrong at all stages. The applied psychology of child labor would deal with the requirements of a normal motor life as compared with conditions in child labor.

Activity in which old racial experience is re-enacted in childhood is developmental and hygienic. It coincides with a normal motor life, which is more than physical activity, being also psychical. It follows the line of least physical and psychical resistance, and answers to physical and psychical needs and demands. The past is not only about us, but in us. Imperatively the racially old seeks expression through the individually young. Though the value of expression may be found in catharsis and sublimation, the expression is needful for development and health. In prepubescent years, the child is a little savage—a running, hunting, throwing, playing, fighting animal. He is the biological product, the ontogenetic representative, of savagery in the race. His natural motivations to activity have their roots away back in hoarier than hoary antiquity. Early adolescence, too, has its own inheritance from racial antiquity and its characteristic forms of naturally motivated activity. The applied psychology of child labor would deal with these natural motivations to activity, these bases of behavior—briefly speaking, the instincts—and show how child labor, in its many varieties, overfeeds or starves some part of the instinctive life, and with what results.

It would deal also with school-leaving. The child labor problem is as much a problem of premature school-leaving as it is of premature going-to-work. The causes of school-leaving are behavioristic causes—causes of behavior. School-leaving *is* behavior. The majority of children who leave school do so of their own accord, or rather without direct compulsion from parent or employer. It is usually their own act and should be studied as such. Where it is not their own act, the motives underlying compulsion on the part of others may be studied.

The causes of school-leaving must be considered with reference, first, to the failure of the school to hold the children, which is really a failure to hold their interest and loyalty; and second, to the lure and attraction of the work that is child labor. Conditions in the modern schoolroom are directly antagonistic to the physiological needs of children, since the demand for bodily movement, especially movement of the fundamental muscles, is denied. Because of this, and because of the stressing of the accessory muscles, with an accompaniment of severe nervous effort and strain, much of the work in the schoolroom is done under defective psychic motivation. The motivation is, in too large a degree, external rather than internal. Again, defective motivation is due to certain other characteristics of natural activity.

Activity in childhood becomes increasingly constructive—if the constructive, creative impulses are thwarted, the child's activity becomes less satisfying as well as less profitable. Activity, moreover, becomes increasingly social, and the work of the school is usually carried on with little of social spirit and co-operative method. Interest in vocations increases, and the schools in general fail to recognize and utilize it. Those that do establish vocational training and guidance greatly reduce their school-leaving mortality. This vocational interest, at first, is not so much interest in vocations as vocations, as it is the manifestation of an unsatisfied craving for the concrete and practical. The sense of practicality in the effort a child makes does not depend on the adult notion of its utility; he does easiest and best what in his present stage of development and outlook has definitely useful meaning; he learns easiest and best what seems to him applicable, and really remembers only what he applies.

Against conditions such as these that cramp and stifle and starve and baffle, children consciously or unconsciously rebel. "Nature has not adapted the young animal to the narrow desk, the crowded curriculum, the silent absorption of complicated facts," says Dewey. "His very life and growth depend upon motion, yet the school forces him into a cramped position for hours at a time, so that the teacher may be sure he is listening or studying books. Short periods of exercise are allowed as a bribe to keep him quiet the rest of the time, but these relaxations do not compensate for the efforts which he must make. The child is eager

to move both mentally and physically. Just as the physical growth must progress together with the mental so it is in the separate acts of a child. His bodily movements and his mental awakening are mutually dependent." These requirements of nature, well worth considering in connection with schooling, are well worth considering *in direct connection with child labor.*

One reason why children leave school is retardation, which may be the result of mental or physical defect (and this itself may have been induced by conditions of school life) or the result of a misfit between methods of teaching and the learning process. We are apt to forget that learning takes place chiefly through dealing with real situations. In human evolution, mind is the creature of crises; in the life of the individual, learning and thinking obey a similar law of mental development and acquisition. We cram and stuff the child's mind with adult nutriment and wonder why he fails in avidity. Children are natural-born learners, built to learn, eager to learn—and we give the best marks, not for learning, but for reciting from books and performing memory stunts, which is a totally different thing.

Learning proceeds in a large part through the operation of the instinct of curiosity. Curiosity is the basis of a large share of the intellectual development in animals and in man. It is to the intellect what appetite is to the body.* It is a cause of growth and development. But the child's curiosity is repressed in school, and that is another of the reasons why school displeases him. It irks him that the school leaves out and even discountenances one of his favorite and principal methods of acquiring knowledge.

On the positive side of going to work our applied psychology would be concerned with motives and motivations such as the following: filial devotion, which is one of the rarest of the numerous causes of child labor; the self-assertive instinct in various forms and manifestations; the desire for "manly independence"; the desire for money for the sake of its possession, for the sake of its use in self-display or for the sake of candy and movies, of self-indulgence and amusement; the desire to follow friends and acquaintances who have already gone or are going into industry; rivalry with one's fellows, emulation, hero-worship of older boys;

*Kirkpatrick's phrase.

the influence of "success books"; the spirit of exploration and adventure; etc., etc. Mention would be made of the migratory instinct, the desire for a change of environment, as a cause of leaving school and going to work and as a cause, further, of that shifting about from job to job which characterizes child laborers.

Our applied psychology would give special attention to the causes and consequences of these many changes of employment. The psychical and psychopathic effects of the early experiences of the child in child labor are of the utmost significance in relation to the child labor problem. Disappointment, disillusionment, shock; intermittent work and idleness; a flitting from one job to another; a vain quest for satisfaction; the formation of habits of vacillation and of failure—these come to the child laborer, and leave their marks in weakened will and character. Repeated failure in this period affects the mental health seriously and permanently, and with the child of neurotic constitution the common experiences of this period are highly dangerous to mind and personality. For mental health a child must have much success and not too much failure and disappointment.

Our applied psychology would deal extensively with the mental hygiene of industry as regards children. We are studying the mental hygiene of industry with reference to adults; but children, as we know today, are not adults in miniature, and industrial hygiene in their case is a somewhat different matter. Much of the work that children do in the factory and on the farm, as well as in school, is done with defective psychic motivation. There is over-emphasis, perhaps, of the small, accessory muscles, or there is thwarting and repression of instincts, or no evocation of the natural enthusiasm and spontaneity of childhood upon which depends the symmetry of psychic life and growth. The first result of doing things with defective psychic impulsion—that is, with psychic friction—is fatigue. Cumulative fatigue is fertile soil for psychopathic ailments and personality disturbances of various sorts. Work with such concomitants as worry, repression of play instincts, lack of proper periods of relaxation, separation from the natural group, is conducive if long continued to nervous disorders and derangements appearing in childhood or in later life. The roots of most disturbances of personality and mental function are traceable back to childhood. Child labor is partly responsible for the neurotic

and neurasthenic conditions discovered among the men in the selective draft.

Our applied psychology, further, would include a consideration of the physical, mental and moral benefits of a normal play life and especially of supervised play. One of the chief indictments against child labor is that it deprives children of a normal play life. The physical benefits of play are, for the most part, inseparable from the psychical. And play *is* psychical. Attention would be given to the essentiality of play in the exercise and development of the social instincts, such as loyalty, altruism, co-operativeness; in catharsis and socialization of the pugnacious instinct; in sublimation of the impulses of the psycho-sexual life—both the homosexual and the heterosexual impulses. It is chiefly in play that the individual learns the rules of the game of life and acquires willingness to abide by them.

IV

Nobody believes in *child labor.* We all believe in *children's work.* The National Child Labor Committee *opposes* child labor, but *favors* children's work. It advocates work that develops and educates. It asserts that the doctrine of all play and no work or responsibility is quite as pernicious as the doctrine of all work and no play. It recognizes that children possess work impulses as well as play impulses, but that the latter as well as the former are repressed and thwarted by child labor. There are common elements in play and work, and these with the practical implications of such relationship, would be considered by our applied child-labor psychology, which would finally devote itself to the differences between child labor and children's work.

In distinguishing between these two, very definite psychological facts and principles are available for guidance and aid. This from John Dewey is suggestive: "To confine the growing child to the same kind of muscular activity is harmful both physically and mentally; to keep on growing he must have work that exercises his whole body, which presents new problems, which teaches him new things, and thus develops his powers of reasoning and judgment. Any manual labor ceases to be educative the moment it becomes thoroughly familiar and automatic." Child labor is child labor partly because it is not educative in this psychological sense.

We are setting up standards of physical fitness for children entering industry, and are thinking a little about setting up standards of mental fitness. We ought to set up standards of *children's work*. We are measuring *children* with reference to *their* fitness to go to work, but we ought also to measure *work* with reference to *its* fitness for children. This, of course, is in large part a psychological problem.

Any occupation in childhood that causes over-use of the small, accessory muscles, or continually restricts the use of the large, fundamental muscles, any occupation that precludes the development of the finer neuro-muscular co-ordinations (like much of farm work, which in the beet fields, on the other hand, puts too much burden on the small muscles); any occupation that tends to the formation of bad motor habits; any sedentary occupation; any occupation that stands in the way of a wholesomely objective life; any occupation that deprives children of the free muscular exercise accompanying play, or of the psychical self-expression found in play, or of its mental and moral discipline; any occupation that interferes with a *full* childhood, a childhood of normal and complete development, a *characteristic childhood in each of its stages*— is far from being a gainful occupation. Any occupation that conflicts with, or fails to supply, the natural needs of children robs the child of his inherent rights.

THE JUVENILE COURT AND CHILD LABOR

MABEL BROWN ELLIS

Four years ago, an American boy, 15 years of age, was brought before the Children's Court of New York City, charged with threatening his former employer with a revolver when the man refused to pay the wages which the boy claimed were due him on discharge. He was placed on probation and set out to find work. The first position offered him, which he promptly accepted, was with a bakery where he worked from six o'clock at night until two in the morning. He received $5.00 a week. When the probation officer heard about the night work, he persuaded the lad to give it up and promised to help him find more desirable employment. But before arrangements could be made the boy himself had found work in a saloon. Again he was persuaded to leave and the probation officer secured him a job as errand boy with a lumber company at a wage of $7.00 a week. The next entry on the probation record, however, states: "Boy was washing windows on third story of apartment house; fell, fractured his skull, broke both arms and is internally injured; not expected to live." After the miraculous fashion of boys, he did live and was able to leave the hospital in three weeks, but, according to the record, he would be unable to work for some time. Before another month had elapsed, although still unable to use his right arm, the boy secured employment as usher in a cheap vaudeville and motion picture house where he was on duty until eleven or eleven-thirty each night. Once more urged to change his position, he found work as elevator runner in an apartment house. Since he was still under 16, his employment was in direct violation of the law, but by this time his probation period had expired and the officer, apparently drawing a long breath of relief, seems to have left him undisturbed.

While this lad displayed an ability little short of genius in discovering and seizing upon the most undesirable kinds of work open to a child of his years, his story could be duplicated in many particulars by the records filed away in juvenile courts the country over.

The juvenile court occupies, indeed, a peculiar vantage ground from which to view the operation of child labor laws and to aid in their enforcement: first, because the children whom it serves come largely from the poorer groups in the city and are, typically, the boys and girls who leave school at the earliest possible moment to seek employment; and second, because during the probation period, a representative of the court sees the working child regularly, frequently as often as once a week and has an unusual opportunity to observe the results upon him of the occupation he elects to follow. No other social worker knows the most helpless and most exploited type of working child more intimately than does the probation officer.

It is not strange, then, that in at least six states probation officers are specifically named among those charged with the enforcement of the child labor law and that in at least twenty-five states, peace officers and truant officers, who often are the only probation officers for small courts, are so named. Even more frequently is the enforcement of special sections of the child labor law, notably those relating to street-trades, messenger service and public exhibitions, whether in the theater or on the street, placed in the hands of the juvenile courts. The causal relationship between delinquency and street-trading has been so long recognized that the eight* states which have regulated street-trading by state law all consider the child who violates these statutes a juvenile delinquent and in need of court protection. Likewise, the juvenile court laws of sixteen states include in their definition of dependency and neglect, children under specified ages who are found peddling or offering any articles for sale on the street, and practically the same list of states protects for the same age-period children employed in street exhibitions of singing or dancing.

Certain states proceed farther yet in their statutory recognition of the relationship which exists between the juvenile courts and child labor. In Wisconsin and Kansas, it is possible for a juvenile court judge under certain conditions, to grant general employment certificates. In Colorado, Louisiana, Wisconsin and Oregon, the judge may grant permits for the employment of children in theatrical performances; in Washington, Texas, Nevada and the District of

*Twenty-one states have statutes regulating street trading, but only eight of these are state-wide in their application.

Columbia, he may exempt children from the age or education requirements of the child labor law, if in his judgment the circumstances demand it. But as a matter of fact, although these provisions are still found in the statutes, they are seldom utilized, for most people, including the judges themselves, would agree that the issuance of employment certificates should be the function of the public school and not of the juvenile court.

Jurisdiction over cases of adults arrested for the illegal employment of children is conferred by statute upon only one court, that of the District of Columbia, but if the circumstances under which a child is employed have directly contributed to his delinquency, the employer could be tried on the latter charge in the majority of juvenile courts.

So much for the legal side of the question. Fortunately, the juvenile court was founded and continues to exist, not only as an agency for the enforcement of laws, but as a vital force for the protection of childhood. No probation officer worth his salt cares whether or not the child labor law specifically names him among those charged with its enforcement for he knows that it is his duty to help in the enforcement of all laws relating to children. No juvenile court which rightly interprets its high function of searching out and seeking to remove the causes of juvenile maladjustment will fail to note the frequency with which premature or unsuitable employment enters into the child's life as a factor of considerable, perhaps of overshadowing importance. A court which takes, as all courts should, a really vital part in the welfare of the community recognizes the fact that its responsibility both to the working child and to the child who wants to leave school to go to work does not cease with an impartial administration of technical details of the law.

For the purposes of this discussion, the boys and girls who appear before our juvenile courts may be considered as forming three distinct groups: first, children holding employment certificates who have dropped out of school, whether or not they are actually at work; second, children employed without certificates and ineligible for them; third, children still in school but rapidly and eagerly approaching the time when they may leave. The first group is, in city courts, a large one; the second is comparatively negligible; the third, while seldom recognized by the court as a child

labor problem at all, is by far the largest numerically and imposes the most serious responsibility upon the probation officer.

There can, of course, be no question as to the duty of the court when a boy not yet old enough or far enough advanced in school to go to work is found illegally employed. The boy must be returned to school or, if he is discovered during the summer vacation, arrangements must be made to occupy his time in other ways, preferably in that outdoor recreation which is his divine right by virtue of being a child. It is not a fair solution simply to order a child to stop work without providing him with some substitute activity and it has been our failure to recognize this fact which has led to most of the unpopularity of child labor legislation with court officials.

Nor must the possible economic need of the family be disregarded. The probation officer who would consider his work really well done, can not feel satisfied until some way of meeting the situation has been devised, whether by increasing the earning capacity of other members of the family, by a wiser expenditure of its present income, or by supplementing that income from outside sources.

But the responsibility of the court does not end with the child or his family. An employer who violates the child labor law in one instance may do so in another and it may easily happen that before any representative of the state labor department reaches him in his regular rounds, other children may have suffered. Not only should the juvenile court make it a practice regularly to report to the proper enforcing agency any violations of the child labor law which become known to it, but it should also follow up its reports to make sure that action is taken upon them. In 1917, the judge of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia became dissatisfied with the co-operation he was getting from the two child labor inspectors of the District. He requested a representative of the National Child Labor Committee to go through the court records and find out exactly what was happening. During the six-months period for which records were available, it was found that 48 cases had been reported to the inspectors by the court and that in only 12 of them had any action at all been taken. During the same period, only 6 prosecutions—one a month—had been brought by the inspectors independently of the court, and this during a summer

when violations of the child labor law had been notoriously frequent and flagrant.

With this analysis of its own records as a basis, the court was able to put the situation clearly before the Commissioners of the District and to demand and get better administration of the child labor law, not only for its wards, but for all the working children of Washington.

Next in size to the group of children who are illegally employed come those who hold employment certificates and are at work or are looking for work. There is a tendency among probation officers, and indeed among all of us who call ourselves social workers to consider that when one of our clients "has a job," he is settled and off our hands. It is certainly easier so to think and even social workers at times become human enough to follow the line of least resistance. But when we think clearly upon the subject, we all realize that this is not enough. Miss Addams, in *Twenty Years of Hull House*, tells the story of a frail man, accustomed only to clerical duties, who lost his position in the panic of '93 and came before the Mayor's Committee on Employment, seeking work. In the severe winter weather, he was put to digging ditches, promptly contracted pneumonia from the exposure and died within a week, leaving two little children alone in the world. This is an extreme illustration of the need of fitting the man to the job, a poignant illustration of the blindness with which we are all, at times, afflicted. But is it not a far more terrible thing to let a bright and promising boy or girl wander about from one blind-alley trade to another, until ambition is dulled and all hopes of attaining any position higher than that of unskilled laborer are forever crushed? How can a probation officer avert such a tragedy from his wards?

He can, first of all, study the mental and physical condition of the child assigned to his care. All modern juvenile courts insist upon such a study of the individual as an essential part of the investigation prior to the hearing of the case. The large city courts maintain or have easily accessible clinics for this express purpose. Small city or rural courts must depend upon the physicians of the community for help or upon travelling clinics sent out from state institutions, or upon school physicians and psychologists. In default of anything better, a rural probation officer can easily provide himself with charts showing the relationship between weight and age and

height to guide him in judging health; and should study the child's previous record in school as a basis for estimating his retardation and the reasons therefor. The court examination often reveals physical defects which have escaped discovery in school and the court has the peculiar advantage of being able to order the correction of such troubles as can be remedied and to enforce its orders.

It is fairly obvious that a girl with latent tuberculosis should not be allowed to go to work in a cotton mill, or a boy with a heart lesion to take work which requires heavy lifting, but it is not so obvious that a child in fair physical condition to start with may be absolutely drained of vitality by confinement at any monotonous task for long hours during the period of adolescence. A probation officer needs to know not only what industry his ward proposes to enter but what part of the process he is to perform and whether it involves eye-strain, undue fatigue, exposure to extremes of heat and cold, or dust, or poisonous fumes, lifting, prolonged sitting or standing; whether there is danger of accident from unprotected machinery; whether the place of employment maintains decent standards of sanitation and ventilation. Most of these facts should be available in the records of the state department of labor; if they are not, a request from a probation officer that information be secured regarding a specified shop or factory will ordinarily receive prompt attention. From the technical standpoint, the officer should know whether the kind of work the child is doing offers any chance of trade education or of advancement and whether it is suited to his special type of ability. From the human standpoint, he should know something of the character and business policy of the firm or employer.

Particularly is this true in the case of girls who go out to service. The field of domestic service has been the No Man's Land of industrial research and it is as yet untouched by any legislation except the compulsory school attendance law. Yet the records of juvenile courts contain many stories of the abuse and exploitation of these young girls who leave their own homes to earn a living in some one's else kitchen or nursery. Most carefully must a probation officer who desires to place a girl at service inform herself upon the composition of the family of the prospective employer, the location and privacy of the sleeping-room provided for the girl and the arrangements for her free time and recreation. Feeble-minded

girls should never be so placed. A most shocking illustration of the indifference with which they have occasionally been placed in the past was recently brought to the attention of a probation officer in a southern city who discovered that a feeble-minded girl, a confirmed masturbator, had during the course of her employment as a nurse-maid, taught the little five-year old son of her mistress to follow her perverted practices. That mother is paying high for her effort to secure cheap service.

Given such a knowledge of the child and of his prospective employment, the probation officer is in a position to judge with some likelihood of success whether the two will fit. If the combination is not a good one, he must help the boy to find a position that is desirable and this implies a working knowledge of opportunities for employment in the community which is an essential part of the equipment of any well-trained probation officer. It is not necessary that every juvenile court should set up its own vocational guidance bureau. That would be in most instances an unwise and unnecessary way to handle work more appropriately carried on by other agencies. But it is necessary that each probation officer should make constant use of all agencies which handle applications for work or workers, that he should study the "Want Ad" columns of the daily papers and that he should gradually work up, for his own benefit, a list of men who will promise to give work to difficult boys and to keep a friendly eye upon them. In this connection, the recent development of the Rotary Club work for boys is of special interest.

During the period of probation—and the president of the National Probation Association has urged that this period should rarely be shorter than a year—the officer may, if he will, measure the effect of gainful occupation upon the child by weekly observations of his weight. No state in the Union has yet provided for the physical re-examination of working children. The courts have the opportunity of setting the pace for the rest of us for the officer sees the child weekly and it is a simple matter to watch that sensitive index of physical condition, his weight. The Child Health Organization has adopted the slogan: "A scale in every school." Some of us would like to see a scale in every juvenile court and in every children's institution as well.

Records, it goes without saying, must be carefully kept if

succeeding probation officers are to profit by the labors of today. The investigation sheet made out for a working child should show as a minimum the following facts: Name of school last attended, grade and date of leaving; Number and date of employment certificate; Name of present employer; Kind of work done by child; Hours and wages. It ought to show as well similar facts for each position held since the boy left school, and should contain such illuminating facts on conditions of work as have already been discussed. Such complete records, which will perhaps be possible in that Utopia where juvenile courts have enough probation officers and enough stenographers will throw a flood of light upon the instability of the child as a laborer, the comparatively small wage he can in normal times earn at any occupation open to him under 16 and the crying need for vocational guidance in the schools and for juvenile labor exchanges in the business world.

But juvenile court records even in their present incomplete condition contain much of value to the student of child labor problems. There is no better discussion in print of the relationship which may exist between the probation officer and the foreign-born parent of a working child than may be found in the pages of *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, where Miss Breckenridge and Miss Abbott picture the work of the Chicago court in interpreting American standards to foreign-born parents who "clung stubbornly to the theory that a child must leave school and go to work as soon as he is confirmed, without any regard to his age or fitness for work," and who were quite willing to sacrifice education to the land-hunger of the peasant. "Perhaps the most striking single effect of poverty," they say, "that seems to have a direct connection with delinquency is the heavy burden of financial responsibility which the child helps to bear. It is the normal thing for children in these families to leave school and go to work at 14. Many of them go to work much earlier."

Thus the court is brought face to face with the problem of dealing wisely with the third and largest group of its children, the boys and girls of 14 and 15 who are counting the hours which must elapse before their release from school. It is one of the tragedies of our educational system that most of them regard it as a release and that in many instances the term is correct. A really good teacher regards a difficult boy as a challenge to her powers and

is unwilling to let him go until she has won him, but a poor teacher is always ready to thrust him forth. Most of the boys before the juvenile court are difficult boys. If they were not difficult they would not be before the court. And there are never enough good teachers to go around. The probation officer has then not only to meet the problem of juvenile unrest in school but also to combat the occasional indifference and lack of co-operation on the part of the teacher which make his task so much the more difficult. Here the work of the court psychologist is of supreme importance. For if a child is of very low-grade mentality, there is little use of urging him to remain in school past the legal age for employment and he should be in an ungraded room during his entire school life. The child who manifests ordinary ability may be capable of doing good work if transferred to a different teacher and may be nursed along into a technical high school or business course. Every such child who is saved from going to work prematurely through the exertions of a probation officer is a distinct contribution to the resources of the community by the juvenile court. We have a way of thinking that the whole purpose of mental tests is to discover feeble-mindedness, forgetting the thrill which comes to the psychologist when he is confronted with a child of more than normal ability. Some juvenile delinquency is the reaction of such children who are genuinely bored by the stupidity of the adults surrounding them and have to "start something or die," as one boy put it. It is a crime against society as well as the child to permit an occasional spark of genius to be snuffed out by premature employment. The probation officer must lend his influence to secure scholarships and advanced training for the exceptional child, revitalization of the school curriculum and adjustment of personalities for the ordinary child, and protection and such training as he is capable of absorbing for the sub-normal child.

In at least one other way, juvenile courts come into direct contact with the need for regulating the employment of children. Each year they commit boys and girls to child-caring institutions where presumably they are to receive shelter and an education. In accordance with this theory of institutional care, the names of many such places have been changed from "reform school" or "house of refuge" to "training school" or "industrial school." Sometimes the juvenile court retains jurisdiction over children thus

committed; sometimes the jurisdiction is transferred to the institution; but in most instances some representative of the court, either the judge, the chief probation officer or members of an advisory board are required to visit all places receiving children on court commitment, to observe for themselves the sort of care they are receiving.

At the National Probation Conference a southern man, a probation officer in a juvenile court, told of his experience in thus inspecting a training school for boys. He went to the place because his juvenile court, which had been accustomed to commit boys to this institution in the hope of curing them of truancy, discovered that when boys were discharged they came home harder to keep in school than when they went. And he discovered that in this training school, there was no school at all. There was a farm, a fine farm, on which, he said, they raised "cows, pigs and chickens, corn and a few children," and where, to quote him again, "the only culture was agriculture." That situation can be duplicated again and again in state and county institutions throughout the south. It is child labor of the sort which as yet is unregulated by any law except the compulsory education law, and the responsibility of discovering it and making it public rests upon those persons whose duty it is to inspect institutions, among whom are included the official representatives of juvenile courts. It is time that we faced squarely the whole question of child labor in institutions. In a northern state institution, not long ago, visitors walked into a room full of little girls, 6, 8 and 11 years old, dependent children, every one of them, who were sewing tobacco sacks on contract from seven forty-five in the morning until eleven forty-five at noon—four hours, in silence, five days a week. Ten or twelve of them had the itch but with their little hands tied up in clumsy bandages, they were stitching away just the same. They went to school four hours in the afternoon. No one knows how much of that sort of thing is going on in supposedly reputable institutions and no one has a better chance of finding out than has the probation officer who drops in at all hours without previous announcement.

It is absurd to apply the term vocational training to such household tasks as scrubbing long corridors or teaching boys to darn stockings, and children who are kept out of school for half a day for training of this type are simply being cheated of their

right to an education. We grant the difficulty of drawing the line between work which is really educational and work which is drudgery, but until we get household managers and farm foremen into our institutions who have had a professional training for their work and who assume a professional attitude toward it, let us not call institutions which give boys and girls no chance to learn a real trade, training schools. If it is impossible at least to give children the honest equivalent of a public school education, let us frankly say so and not attempt to camouflage the fact that they are earning their own living, under the protection of the state, in direct violation of the compulsory education and the child labor laws, thus practically nullifying the purpose of the juvenile court which was responsible for their commitment.

In the preceding discussion, we have touched upon a few of the ways in which the juvenile court is related to the enforcement of child labor legislation. There are many others which might be mentioned, notably the administration of mothers' pensions by the juvenile courts of certain states, but it should be clear without further argument that the relationship is close and constant; that the courts have unusual opportunities for the observation of working children and that we must continue to depend upon the hearty co-operation they have always given us when they once understood our aims, to raise the standards of child labor laws and to obtain their better enforcement.

THE RURAL CHILD AND COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

GERTRUDE FOLKS

In going to different sections of the country and visiting rural schools, one is frequently impressed with the thought that every child all over the country is doing precisely the same thing that the particular group visited is doing—going to school and learning to read, to write and to do all the other things that we consider part of education—and we are inclined to pride ourselves upon our public school system. But if we think fairly we are forced to admit that, although under our educational laws every child *should* be in school, there are hundreds of thousands who are not. School statistics are not adequately compiled in most states, and it is impossible to determine exactly how many children are not in school. The last statistical report of the Bureau of Education, however, estimates that 17% of all children between 6 and 18 years of age are not enrolled in any school, public or private. Especially is this true in the rural sections. One of our Southern states, a distinctly agricultural state, reports that in 1918, there were over 1,200 white and over 4,500 colored children between the ages of 10 and 18, who had *never* attended any school. And North Dakots, a state which represents an entirely different type of agricultural work, reports that only 30% of farm children complete the 8th grade in school, and only 4% complete the High School course. The president of a state Normal College in a Southern state recently made an estimate of the average education of all the people in the state over 6 years of age; and he found that the average for all—including university and college graduates, high school and normal students, boys and girls in the elementary schools as well as those who had never attended any school—would fall somewhere in the third grade. For this non-attendance of rural children there are several causes—unquestionably, farm labor is one factor and will be discussed later. The distance of the schoolhouse from the homes, poor roads, and lack of free transportation is another cause.

Educational reports, in their present state of inadequacy, seldom touch on this point, and no figures for the country as a whole can be given. In North Dakota, however, the State Department of Education reports that 7,541 children were excused from attendance because they lived more than 2½ miles from the school house, the maximum distance which a child is obliged to go according to the compulsory attendance law. In another state in which the Committee is now working, an agricultural state, the school superintendents of 27 counties reported on the number of children living more than 2 miles from the schoolhouse—the limit fixed by the compulsory attendance law of that state. Their estimates varied from 5% to 50% with the majority reporting 10 or 15%. The indifference of parents, especially of those who themselves never received an education is a third cause that should not be underestimated. One who visits rural schools and talks with the teachers and the children is constantly amazed at the extent to which this ignorance still prevails. But there is another reason for non-attendance, more fundamental, and chiefly responsible for the above causes—the inadequacy of our rural schools. They are not performing their function with sufficient success to win over prejudiced and indifferent parents, to compensate them for the immediate dollars and cents loss that may result from the loss of the help of the children on the farm, nor with sufficient success even to make the child prefer school to work. Unquestionably the majority of country children of school age who are not enrolled in school and those who do not attend regularly are helping on the farm, but it by no means follows that this work is the cause of their non-attendance. Rather it is an excuse—it is not often that the child who wishes to stay in school is made to stay out and help on the farm. Except in the case of hired labor and to some extent tenant labor, actual poverty is not an important factor in the majority of cases. The labor of the children is utilized not because it is essential to the life of the family, but because to both parent and child it seems to have a value that school work does not. It gives a sense of practical worth-whileness that the school fails to give. As a beet-grower in Colorado once said to a member of the Child Labor Committee staff, "My boy is worth $1,000 for work during the beet season, but is nothing but an expense if he goes to school." Another family who boasted that they had made $10,000 from

their farm during the preceding year were allowing their two children to work in the field during school hours. To the parent the work of the school appears unpractical and unimportant; to the child it is often monotonous and irksome. With such a combination, there is only one place to turn for a solution of our attendance problem and that is the school. We cannot expect an awakening on the part of the parents until the school offers more than it does today. Everyone is familiar with the traditional "little red school-house." Thousands of that very same type of school still exist all over the country. The buildings are just as primitive and poorly equipped; the teachers are just as young, uneducated and poorly paid; the curriculum is just as stereotyped, unpractical and dead.

Without minimizing what has already been done along the line of rural school improvement, it is fair to say that the modern rural school is still the exception and not the rule. Many counties in most states have one or two "show schools," but the rank and file are pitiable. Like everything else, the schools suffered during the war. Time and again, in the state in which the National Child Labor Committee is now working, when county superintendents have been asked, "Have you a strong movement towards consolidation; has practical agriculture or industrial work been introduced?" etc.—their reply has been "Before the war we had begun work along those lines, but of course all that was dropped." It will take renewed effort to begin this work again, to bring it up even to the pre-war standard, and to carry it on at a rate that will show any appreciable results within the next ten years. Too often school officials are inclined to take the point of view that one county superintendent expressed in the preface to his biennial report. He wrote, "In accordance with the law I am submitting this report, but there has been no change in the schools since the last report. Two years is entirely too short a time to look for any marked changes in the school system unless the superintendent be a revolutionist of the most extreme type." If this be true, we shall have to search out regular Bolsheviks for our educational leaders, for rural schools have a long way to go before they can make a legitimate appeal for the attendance of rural children.

There are however four fundamental changes which are requisites for any great progress: (1) The abolition of the old

district system where it still exists, and the substitution of a centralized county system under the leadership of a full-time, well-paid experienced county superintendent with an adequate number of supervisors. (2) The consolidation of one and two room schools. Consolidation is of many kinds. I have in mind a school recently visited as a "consolidated" school. It was a typical one-teacher frame schoolhouse, with no better equipment, no better instruction and no more activities than usual. I inquired about the consolidation, so-called, and found that another one-teacher school down the road with an enrollment of about 15 students had been abolished and the children told to attend this school. Not only was no improvement made in the school, but the children of the other school lived more than two miles from this schoolhouse, and after the first month not one of them attended, and under the compulsory attendance law they could not be forced to do so. By consolidation, I mean the elimination of two or more small schools and the substitution of a larger, well-equipped, well taught central school, to which transportation is furnished by the school board for those children living a specified distance from the schoolhouse. (3) The third need is one with which everyone has been familiarized this year—the question of the low salaries paid to teachers, the consequent teacher shortage, and going a step further, the consequent employment of untrained if not absolutely uneducated teachers. In spite of some progress made in several sections of the country this year, the report of the National Education Association published last fall, still fairly represents conditions, and the subject will not be discussed here except to bring it to mind as a contributing cause to the non-attendance of rural children. This applies not only to teachers but also to state superintendents, county superintendents and supervisors. (4) The fourth change which must be made in our schools is a revision of the curriculum, both as to methods of instruction and content of subject matter. This alone could be made the subject for an entire conference, and cannot be expanded in this paper. But until we have in our rural schools a type of instruction and of activity that not only is based on modern theories of child psychology but that is especially adapted to rural life, we shall not have the cooperation of the families whose children we seek to educate, nor the interest of the children themselves. The most fundamental reform of all has not been

mentioned—the one which will make possible all of the above—namely, an increase in the amount of funds available for school purposes both on the part of the states and of the federal government, and their distribution on a basis which will tend to equalize educational conditions throughout the country and to give special aid to communities in which consolidation is being accomplished.

The title of this paper "The Rural Child and Compulsory School Attendance" is a question-begging phrase. The real problem is not that of compelling the child to attend school, but of educating the farm child; the ultimate solution is not to be sought through compulsory attendance laws alone, but through a reorganization of the rural schools that will touch the schoolhouse, the schoolteacher, the school curriculum, and the relation of the school to the community. Compulsory attendance laws are necessary; at present, in most states there is need of extending their scope; in every state, even in those in which the laws themselves are adequate, there is need of a much more rigid enforcement in rural districts. But, as far as the education of the individual child is concerned, these laws will be of little value unless accompanied by a change in the type of education which is given. We look forward to the time when the element of compulsion will be necessary only in extreme cases; when the school will have resumed its traditional and rightful place as the center of the life of the community, and parents recognizing the value of education will urge their children to attend. When this time comes, there will be no attendance problem, for the children themselves will be interested in the work and activities of the school and will consciously desire to attend. This is an ideal, but it is an ideal which can be reached, for it has been reached in some cases. In the state in which the Committee has been working attendance records have been taken in three or four hundred rural schools. For the most part they are the typical one-room schools such as those described above, but there are also some good consolidated schools. Although these records have not yet been compiled, two facts stand forth—(1) that whereas in the one-room schools the average attendance is usually about 50–60%, and often lower, in the consolidated schools it is seldom below 90%, and (2) although the teachers of the consolidated schools have many more pupils to deal with, they can give the exact reason for every pupil's absence, whereas the teachers of the one-room schools usually say,

"I don't know; he just doesn't come." If, then, we find that as the school approaches a satisfactory performance of its natural function, the attendance problem solves itself without constant recourse to attendance officers, should not those interested in the education of rural children give fully as much consideration to the kind of school which the child attends and the type of instruction which he receives, as to the enactment and enforcement of compulsory attendance laws?

WHAT IS HEALTH PROTECTION FOR WORKING CHILDREN

HAROLD H. MITCHELL

The value of certificates of physical fitness of children applying for work permits has probably been very much over-estimated in the minds of many of us interested in child-labor problems. There seems to be a belief that if we can only get a doctor to say that a child who is applying for a work permit is of normal physical development and of sound health, we have protected that child's health. Unfortunately the matter is not so simple. In fact, the value of physical examinations under the present methods of administration is quite limited.

For those children who have marked and serious physical defects the examinations are more valuable inasmuch as they are likely to result in withholding the permit until the defects are corrected. Such rejection often causes the defective child to take treatment when he had previously been indifferent to the advice of the school medical examiner. The more careful and conscientious medical examiners are rejecting from employment all cases of extreme malnutrition, dental caries with pyorrhea, tuberculosis, uncompensated heart disease, the severer forms of diseased tonsils, badly defective vision, and grossly hypertrophied adenoids, but the selection of this limited group of children for treatment represents only a part of our problem. I can not give you accurate data showing the percentages of the rejections in different cities, because the variations in the laws and in the methods of compiling these figures makes any comparison unfair, but in every case a much smaller number are refused work permits, or are held until corrections are obtained, than we would claim was the total number of defective children among those examined.

A study of the records and methods used in fifteen cities leads me to believe that those cities where twenty to thirty per cent of the applicants are refused on the first examination, and where three to five per cent of the applicants are finally refused because

of failure to have the defects sufficiently corrected, are considerably above the average in the physical standards required for a permit. In most cities it is obvious that the physical standards for the examinations are so low that many children with serious physical defects are allowed to work and no follow-up efforts are made to have these defects corrected. I am convinced from the examinations of school children and the findings of the draft examinations that there must be a very much larger percentage of children with physical handicaps among those applying for work permits than the records of the examiners will show, even in those cities where the largest proportion of the applicants are rejected.

It may appear from this that the remedy is the application of higher physical standards by the medical examiners so that every defective child will be required to have his defects corrected, or be refused a certificate. I doubt, however, if this is practicable. We cannot reject our boys and girls as unfit for earning a living on the same basis as the physicians rejected the draft applicants who were unfit for military service. As we know, the draft examination was to protect the army against filling its ranks with defective men while the examination of the child for a work permit is to protect the child.

I believe we should have minimum physical standards, and of course every child should be required to meet these minimum standards before he is given a certificate, but we must remember that these minimum standards can not be sufficient protection to the health of *all* the children, for the examinations can reject only those children who are in immediate and almost certain danger of injuring their health. One state and several of our cities are already using such standards, but they are actually protecting the health of only a relatively small proportion of the working children.

The difficult phase of this problem is the protection of the child with physical handicaps that are less serious than those mentioned, and the protection of the healthy child from the injury that may result from the hazards and strain of his employment. This can be accomplished successfully only by a capable administrator with discretionary power.

We have come to be afraid of laws granting discretionary power, because they have been so often abused. It is so difficult to find capable and conscientious administrators for our child-welfare laws, that many of our leaders have become discouraged with

laws giving discretionary power, and have turned to legislation that provides some measure of protection for the child regardless of the scientific ability and understanding of the administrator. I am convinced, however, that in order to insure health protection to more than the very limited number who are so obviously in need of medical care, we must develop this work under laws giving discretionary powers.

I believe that only so far as we obtain intelligent and scientific administration of laws applying to child welfare shall we find larger and more active support for the movement. There is need, therefore, of giving first consideration to plans for promoting, upon a scientific basis, with trained workers, the development of all child-welfare activities—whatever may be the need of extension of these activities. The development of health protection for the working child must be done in a scientific manner by an administrator who sees the problem from the standpoint of the welfare of each individual child. As we succeed in obtaining this kind of administration, we shall gain the cooperation of all intelligent employers. The development of industrial hygiene has shown that business men can be convinced that it is poor business to allow their employees to suffer physical injury when it can be prevented. Likewise, we can obtain the co-operation of many employers as soon as we give to administrators discretionary power enabling them to follow up working children with a view to protecting their health, instead of our present unscientific method of excluding children from employment because of failure to attain an arbitrary standard of physical condition. I believe that such administration of our laws with discretionary power is possible if we will but organize the work properly, and if we will pay salaries adequate to secure the services of administrators of ability and training.

Of course I would accept an arbitrary physical standard, even though it protects a very small proportion of our working children, rather than have *no* protection of their health; but I do contend that we should recognize that this method can never give the health protection that is greatly needed by a large proportion of our adolescent children; that to give this protection we must use scientific methods that treat each child as an individual case, rather than the method so largely used of treating them as a wholesale group.

In deciding whether we should give our administrators discretionary power for this task of determining the physical fitness of our children for work, we should consider the way the administration of the law has actually worked, where such power has not been given. I find that most of the medical examiners feel that they must decide whether the child's physical condition is sufficient cause for refusing an employment certificate. They have no other way to protect the health of a child than the refusal of a work permit. Under such circumstances they visualize a case of a child who has refused to have his carious teeth filled and yet has gone to work after the employment certificate has been refused. Such a case in the courts, places the examining physician in an embarrassing position, which he always wishes to avoid. He knows that the care and discretion he has used to protect the health of the child is not appreciated by the legal mind. Under such circumstances the physician cannot afford to guess at his prognosis. Discretion is used in deciding the question, but this discretion does not give the child protection for his health. In other words, a law that does not give discretionary power to the examining physician or to the issuing officer, only protects the children with the more serious physical defects and it is often left to our law courts to determine which defects are sufficiently serious to need attention.

On the other hand, discretionary power should result in the refusal of all those work permits that are now being refused and would make it possible, in addition, to treat every case according to its individual merits. The case with minor defects could be given a limited time to have the defects corrected. Every correctable defect could be corrected, because follow-up work would be possible. Each certificate could be issued for a specific occupation. The weaker children could be spared from the more fatiguing or hazardous occupations. Whenever there is a doubt concerning the probable hazards or effect of an occupation upon a child, the certificate could be issued for a limited time after which the child would be required to submit to another examination. Information could thus be obtained to show the effects of various occupations upon immature workers. For every change of occupation the applicant would be examined and considered for the new occupation.

To the physician there can be no choice whether he shall use

discretionary power. He must always use this discretion as to the seriousness of physical defects. The choice is whether we shall allow our courts to limit the expert advice of the physician. The physician should not be placed in the impossible position of having, as his only means for protecting a child's health, the refusal to permit the child to work; but he should be able to require such follow-up work as is necessary to give the child full health protection. The physician should decide for or against the probable injurious effect of certain specific occupations upon individual children, and the advisability of special periodic physical examinations or of change to another employment. He should also decide the advisability of giving each minor physical defect proper treatment, and in what cases the correction of the defect should be made a condition of employment. Minimum physical standards should be applied to withhold permits for any employment from those children with the more serious defects. And, likewise, physical standards should be agreed upon for the correction of minor physical defects, and for the follow-up work advisable for obtaining these corrections. There is particular need for obtaining and using accurate knowledge of the hazards of various occupations. But every child presents an individual problem and justice demands his individual consideration.

As I have mentioned, it is difficult to obtain able and conscientious administrators to whom we may entrust this discretionary power, but our large cities can well afford to employ a medical executive on full time with assistant medical examiners. The executive could see that provisional or limited-time certificates are issued, or certificates withheld, wherever this is found necessary to protect the health of children in all occupations or to obtain the correction of physical handicaps. I believe that our smaller cities can secure such an administrator through an organization that will place several child welfare activities under the direction of one trained and capable social worker. The work of vocational guidance, school attendance, juvenile probation and the issuance of employment certificates are so related as to suggest a single executive. Such a position should provide a salary that would make possible the employment of an able executive. Relatively untrained assistants could soon be shown how to carry out the details of these activities under expert supervision, and the medical examiner could be depended upon to determine the physical condition of each

child applying for a work permit, and to advise the issuing officer which children need physical defects corrected and which children need special follow-up work other than the routine periodical examinations. With the help of the issuing officer he could advise regarding the hazards of the various occupations.

To summarize, I would say that we can not give health protection to more than a very small group of our working children unless we have capable executives, with discretionary power, to issue employment certificates; that this can very probably be accomplished, in our larger cities by employment of full-time medical executives who will give special study to the health problems of the working child, and in smaller cities by grouping several child welfare activities so that trained social workers may be employed who will direct the issuance of work permits and follow the advice of part-time medical examiners in protecting the health of each individual child.

THE NEXT STEP TO BE TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

DR. FELIX ADLER

Before discussing the subject of my address, I ask leave to state a question which has greatly occupied my mind of late, and which I imagine must be of general interest. The question is: Why do foreign national ideals exert so strong an influence on large numbers of the American people? I have read that something like a million Russians have gone back to take part in the reorganization of their country. The American Zionists are striving to realize their national ideal in far away Palestine. Irish Americans consecrate their nationalist enthusiasm to the Irish Republic that is to be. If these millions were disloyal to the United States, the explanation would be obvious. But, on the contrary, they eagerly and sincerely protest their loyalty. They do their duty as citizens; they pay their taxes; they enlist in the armies of the United States; and by far the greater number of those who are of foreign stock intend to continue to make their home here. Their home, yes; but their heart,—is it in Ireland, is it in Palestine, is it in Russia? It would be unfair to say as much as this. The fact rather seems to be that their affections are divided. They love this country as a man loves his fireside, and this he will defend at the risk of his life. But they love Ireland, Palestine, etc., as a man loves some sacred shrine,—as the Mohammedan loves the holy places at Mecca, turning towards them his face in worship, and making them the object of his pilgrimage.

Even the native Anglo-American, whether of Puritan or Cavalier descent, was strongly moved during the recent war by the magnetic attraction of a foreign, namely, English nationalism. The English motherland was engaged in a life and death struggle with a hostile power, and the Anglo-American population promptly responded to the call of English nationalism. I repeat that I am not questioning the loyalty of any of our citizens;—I am struck by the fact that, say what you will, two loyalties seem to exist

side by side in the minds of large numbers of our people. And the reason why the foreign nationalisms are so potent amongst us, is that we in the United States have not yet achieved a distinctive national ideal of our own, or at any rate that this ideal is still embryonic, and for the most part latent.

Let me define exactly what I mean by nationalism. Nationalism is the collective self-consciousness of a people, the feeling which a people has for the things that are peculiar to itself, such as its literature, institutions, traditions, aspirations. A nationalist is one who thinks of himself as a single organ in the vaster organism of his people, for whom the esteem in which his people are held, the role they play in the world, the realization of their noblest ambitions, mean more than his private prosperity or prestige. I am far from denying that Americans have ideals. At certain highlight moments of our history Americans too have even transiently been nationalists,—but habitually their ideals are individualistic. This great country is regarded by them as an opportunity for the individual to thrive in. The state is regarded as the servant of the individual,—true of all individuals, but of all in their individual capacity. Even the most spiritual expressions of American idealism, as in Emerson's writings, are still strictly individualistic.

But now a new world situation has come about. Extreme individualism, carried far beyond its wholesome limits, finds itself face to face with its opposite extreme, collectivism, as now tried out in Soviet Russia. And the thought I wish to present is that the rise of this tremendous antagonist, and the immense issues at stake for civilization in the conflict being now waged, should lead us to revise our individualistic theory of life and of the state, and should challenge us to the formation of a national ideal of our own, that is, of a collective purpose for the American people, and should also help us to define what that purpose is to be. Are we to pass from one extreme to the other? Are we to exchange for the unbridled capitalism of the past the new directorate of the proletariat? This certainly will not be our decision. We, the people of freedom and initiative, will continue to prize all that is inalienably precious in this individualistic conception of man; but we are bound also to recognize the superior worth of the collective welfare as our inspiring motive. Collectivism fertilized by individual initiative, individualism ennobled by the collective aim, should be our guiding principle.

To work out in practice this ideal, to exemplify it in the broad area of American democracy, is to my mind our national task.

I shall not attempt in this address further to elaborate my thought. The mere enunciation suffices to indicate the point of view from which social workers of whatever class should, from now on, regard the particular business they have in hand. To prepare the American people for the upbuilding of a new type of civilization, founded on the ideal just mentioned, is the problem which all social workers should keep before their mind. A diseased people, an ignorant people, a people dragged down from its moral level by unreclaimed criminality in its midst, can not become the architect of the new civilization that is to be. Therefore the fight against contagious disease, the efforts to improve the schools, or to introduce a wiser and saner treatment of criminals,—all these enterprises, all these indispensable efforts, must go on. But they are concerned with means to an end. Health is a means, knowledge is a means; it is the end, the goal, the new civilization, that must be kept in view.

The social worker today who does not see the things he is trying to do in a new light, that is to say, in their relation to the new world order that is striving to come to the birth, has not profited by the experience of the last five years, has not been touched to finer issues by the great destinies that are now hanging in the balance. To go on just as we did before the war, moving in our accustomed ruts, absorbed in the special and partial interests in which we are particularly concerned, without reference to the larger horizons that have been opened, must be impossible to any social worker who is worthy of his salt.

And it is on the basis of these considerations that I would offer a few suggestions as to the next step to be taken by the group of social workers to which I belong, namely, the National Child Labor Committee.

The next step should be to give our assiduous attention to child labor in agriculture, on the farms. The elevation of the agricultural population of our country has a direct bearing on the large world problem to which I have just referred. The agriculturists of the country, broadly speaking, represent the element of stability. The industrial, factory operatives in the cities, again broadly speaking, represent the element of unrest. The scales have dipped unduly

towards urban life. We need, in the interests of social stability, to redress the balance, by making the children of the agriculturists better educated, increasing their mental and moral resources, as well as by making agricultural life more attractive.

We are told that one and a half million children today are laboring on the farms. Their work is not such as to make them fit to take up the problems of the American people, to be architects of the new civilization. Incredible conditions have been disclosed in certain rural communities. Thousands of children have only the smallest number of months of schooling. Compulsory education, where it is prescribed by statute, is often "a promise to the ear."

We have not been courageous enough in dealing with this situation. We have given too exclusive attention to the child in the mill, and not sufficient attention to the child on the farm. But today the best farmers' organizations are with us, we can count on their hearty co-operation.

I should like to add two reasons why the work with and for the agriculturists seems to me both urgent and fascinating. The first is, that, unlike the monotonous labor of the factory operative, the occupation of the farmer is full of variety, and if only he is rightly educated can be made mentally stimulating to an extraordinary degree. Farming today is applied physics, applied chemistry, applied biology. The work of the hands, instead of deadening the mind, develops it. And secondly, because the agrciulturist is both by nature an intense individualist, and yet by force of circumstances is compelled more and more to co-operate with his neighbors, both for business and social purposes, it seems likely that that wholesome combination of collectivism and individualism to which I alluded in the earlier part of my address may be illustrated even sooner on the land than in the cities.

THE CHILD IN THE OPEN COUNTRY

"LITTLE DEELY," THE WOODHAULER'S DAUGHTER*

JOHN F. SMITH

Uncle Zeke first saw her on an afternoon in June, when she stood in her own yard crying while her father, Old Man Ike, with a mowing blade in his hands was chasing her older brother, Isom, trying to catch him and "an' cut his damn guts out, jist to see um drag the ground atter 'im." Deely stood near the five-rail fence crying her protest until her mother, fearing that Old Ike who would never catch Isom might turn on someone he could catch, rushed out and took the screaming, protesting, kicking youngster into the house. She was then five and a half years old, but Uncle Zeke liked her.

Old Man Ike had come home that day drunk. It was his favorite way of coming home. Many a time he passed Uncle Zeke's house, his team of well-kept horses in a wild run, the driver sitting on the spring seat with hat off, with his iron-gray hair flying in the air, giving war-whoop after war-whoop as the frightened and whip-lashed team tightened their speed for the long ascent that began just below Uncle Zeke's gate. When the team reached the first and only bench in the long winding road they had smooth traveling for a short distance, but the next ascent by the "meetin' house" was so steep that they soon became winded and merely walked rapidly—but walked under the stinging lash and the wild war-whoop of the driver.

When on top things suddenly changed. Old Ike at the first glimpse of his home half a mile around the curve waked the echoes with a whoop and followed this with oath after oath mingled with the words of his favorite "drunk song," "Round Corn Sally."

"Hide out, little ones, yore pappy's full an' 's a-comin'. Hell—

*This is the second instalment of "The Child in the Open Country," the first instalment of which appeared in the May issue of THE AMERICAN CHILD.

up-a-lim', Sookie (his wife) you don't half know me yet. Put on the kittle an' the corn pone; set out the jam an' the pot-licker; Old Ike's a-comin' as hongry as a hell-hound with his tongue hanging dry, his tail tucked down, and his tushes as sharp as a mowing blade. Hed—dap! G——damn you!" and down would come the lash on the flank of his off horse which sent him at break-neck speed around the curve.

Poor Sookie who was always on the lookout for that first whoop hurriedly prepared his dinner, which had long been cooked, and wisely planned to be busy at something else when he made his appearance at the door. From the time the first whoop was heard Little Deely clung close to her mother's skirts. Whether she was in the house or outside she always broke hastily for her mother the instant her father's voice rang through the trees.

Upon arriving at the barn Old Ike usually poured forth a flood of sulphurous epithets at everything and everybody. Isom was cursed for not having enough feed, or for having too much for the horses; the bony calf was sent scurrying away with rocks bounding from its ribs; chickens that ventured into the feed troughs suffered martyrdom if caught. Every hog that appeared around the corner felt the sting of the well trimmed lash,—and Old Ike was an expert in the use of that instrument. He knew well how to measure the distance and how to time the jerk to make the last three inches wrap about a hog's tail or hind leg with most telling effect. It usually had to be about the hind leg, for very few hogs that dwelt on that farm or passed on the road possessed tails. Old Ike's brindle cur, Grizzly, attended to that matter and always manifested least interest in those that had very short stumps.

Isom usually appeared about the time Old Ike finished "ungearing" the horses. He came to serve as a buffer between his infuriated father and his mother and sister. He loved his sister and mother, and he always feared that some of the threats which he often heard his father make might be put into effect. He was active and quick as a cat, could run well, could dodge a rock, and always felt sure of himself when the old man was "wrathy." So his appearance was usually carefully timed. Old Ike was almost certain to fall out with him about something at first sight. Isom knew this, and he knew that he could keep him out of the house till he became tired out with ranting and hunger, or

until intoxication should grow upon him and make him fall asleep. Like a mother dove, a quail, or an oven bird, Isom often feigned injury and thus drew the enemy farther and farther from the nest. He did not find it safe to play the game too close to his pursuer for Old Ike could throw a rock when sober almost as accurately as a rifle could put a bullet, and the boy didn't know what time the old man's cunning might come to him even while he was drunk.

"How do you keep him after you so long when he's hungry?" said a neighbor boy to Isom one day.

"Oh, that's a snap. I know his tricks. You see he likes nothing better than to catch a hog or a young mule standing with its tail towards him and slip up and give it a cut with his whup. Heap a-times I play 'possum. I stop ever once in a while and stoop over, making lak I knocked off a toe nail or stuck a thorn in my foot. As soon as he sees my tight britches he peartens up an' begins slipping up on me. But I always keep my eye on him, an' before he gits close enough to shy a rock at my head I cut into the brier patch and trot on apiece furder."

"Did he ever ketch you?"

"Yes, he did once when I fell in the gulley. But dang if ever he does it agin."

"How do you ever git 'im stopped?"

"Oh, he jist keeps on till he gits so danged drunk that he jist falls down an' goes to sleep, or he gits petered out and goes to the house to dinner. I know he's too tard to do anything to um there so I go back to work.

"Why don't he git you at night?"

"Wy he fergits all about it by that time. Mammy she tells him I'm out at work like a little man an' that pleases him. Then when I go in I brag about what I've done an' he gits in a good humor. He's sober by then, an' he aint sech a danged fool when he ain't drunk.

Thus had this uncouth, unlettered lad of fifteen learned the gentle art of managing an obstreperous father, and he got a lot of exercise and fun out of it. But he always seemed cowed and abashed in the presence of other boys. He never talked much but if some boy wanted a bark whistle or a four-strand round whip Isom knew how to make them. He knew just how to cut the notches in the three triggers for a bird trap or a "deadfall." He

knew that black snakes and colubers lay eggs but that rattlers and copperheads bring forth their young alive. He knew that lizards and "scorpions" sit on their eggs, that young buzzards and carrion crows are white, that a "doodle bug" flips dirt out of its hole with its tail while lying on its back, and "they's a quair sort of wawse (wasp) that ketches a worm, digs a hole and puts him in it, then takes a rock in its mouth and smoothes the place over jes lak a woman a-arnin'."

But he never went to school a day in his life. He was too busy cutting wood to sell, hoeing out weeds, picking berries, an' "heppin' pap an' mammy about the place" to go to school. Deely told a neighbor one day that he picked up a first reader once after she got home and thumbed through it looking at the pictures. But the words meant nothing to him so he laid it aside, picked up his ho'-made banjo and began playing old tunes.

His banjo was a work of interest. The body was made of black walnut with an ordinary axe, an auger and a pocket knife. It was "whittled" into shape, scraped thoroughly smooth with bits of Old Ike's whiskey bottles, rubbed thoroughly with axle-grease and polished with beeswax. The drum head was made of cat hide tanned in ashes and ooze. The neck was made of white maple, all in one piece. The keys were of apple tree roots carved into shape with the help of a file. A twenty-five cent knife and a hot poker were the chief carving tools, but when it was finished it had a creditable appearance and a fairly good tone.

When will the time come when some institution, some organization or group of organizations will recognize the possibilities that lie in this crude skill of youthful wood carvers of our hills and take steps to develop the talent into something that will be of great value to the individual boy and the community. The hands and eyes of these lads should be trained to see and execute things artistic, and a market should be found for their products. Here lie potential forces that have not yet been harnessed and given direction. Thousands upon thousands of worthy youth waste much of their manhood in idleness and grow into old age to become burdens on their friends, or at least non-producers because they are not given the training that will develop them into earners for a whole lifetime. Both the young and the old can use carving tools. When these are put into hands that have been properly

trained we shall no longer find it necessary to order our wooden toys from Japan and Switzerland, but will bring them down from the hills and out of the homes that stand far back in old fields. A trade like this will be one of the greatest rebukes that lawlessness among unreached people can ever receive.

At length the time came for Deely to start to school. Her mother never had any "schoolin'," Isom had never even seen a chart, her pappy had gone to school for a few weeks when he was a youngster to Old Put Dennis who "wore out charts and hick'ry switches,"—but Deely must go to school and make a scholar.

She, however, was of another opinion. Her humiliation at her pappy's conduct weighed so heavily upon her that she felt that she could never face a school room full of neighbors' children. She had stayed at home from babyhood—always painfully at home. So had her mother. Neighbors rarely called, and they more rarely visited the neighbors. Old Mrs. Sims sometimes came and blubbered for an hour or so,—she was the wife of Old Jim-Ed'ards Sims, the only crony that Old Ike had—but Deely never enjoyed these visits; they were always too "weepy". She was like millions of children who hear all the "graveyard talk" and gossip of the neighborhood from ancient grannies, and who are often driven almost to desperation by monotonous twaddle—the best that some poor grannies can afford—and moonings about "agervatin' babies" and wordy nothings. They do not often attempt to give voice to their sorrow and yearnings, but thousands of silent little lips and drawn faces tell a tale to those who have eyes that see. Sometime when we become wiser perhaps we shall teach the psychology of childhood to every youth—omitting circulating decimals, the diagramming of sentences, complex fractions, etc.—so that these same youths when grown into mature life may know what affects a child and what will inspire it. We allow too much child-energy to be consumed in silent suffering that finds expression in a surly disposition, that puts a scowl on the face, a bit of scorn in the heart, and a dash of the devil in the eye and the character.

But Old Ike's decision had been in favor of school, and Deely knew that sooner or later she would be forced to give in. She would not do so, however, without a struggle. Each morning for a week Old Ike had left orders for her to go to school but he was off to the woods or to town long before school time and the orders

were not obeyed. Finally the crisis came. The load of stove-wood had been put on the evening before and the wagon had been driven up to the barn ready for an early start to town next morning. But when starting time came Old Ike didn't go. It took longer than usual to "gear-up" and get ready. The wagon was greased, the lines were oiled, and a new "cracker" was plaited and put on the "whup." When all was ready he entered the house.

"Now Deely, damn my whiskers if we hain't had enough of this foolishness. You jist git thet-there basket an' put yore dinner in it; an' git them books, an' put on yore bonnet, an' come an' git on that wagon with me. I tell you, this mornin' you're goin' to school."

Deely continued to wash dishes as if she had not heard. Her father turned abruptly and walked from the room.

He returned in a moment with a long peachtree sprout, one of many he had allowed to grow on his trees for convenience, walked up to Deely, took her roughly by the arm without a word and thrashed her mercilessly. Deely didn't whimper. She wriggled and fought, and her poor drawn little face and white lips told the agony she was suffering but cry she would not. This made Old Ike even more furious and he "laid on the hick'ry" all the harder. Great whelks rose and blood came but Deely's face only became more drawn and her little body was drawn more and more into a knot.

"Damned if I don't whale the life out of you, you little huzzy, if you don't fix that dinner!"—and the blows fell faster.

"I'll go, pappy," came a thin, frightened, subdued little voice, and the thrashing stopped.

"Well, be mighty plague-goned quick about it now I tell you."

Deely went about preparing her dinner,—a fried egg, a piece of corn bread, a bottle of buttermilk and a half-pint bottle of "sorghum 'lasses." Old Ike turned to the door just as Isom appeared with an axe with a broken handle in his hand.

"An' now, young man, I don't want to hear a dad-blasted word out of you this mornin'."

Isom looked surprised. He had been out chopping, had broken his axe handle and had come to the house to put in another one. But when he saw the frayed switch that his father held in his hand, and Deely moving about the kitchen in silence he guessed what had

taken place. He returned Old Ike's gaze, and for the first time in his life the old man felt cowed and afraid before his son. Something in the boy's eye plainly told the father that there was a new force on that place to be reckoned with whenever Deely was to be thrashed like a dog. Isom turned and walked away in silence, and Old Ike felt very much relieved.

"Good-bye, Deely. Be a good girl," shouted her mother while hanging out clothes. Deely merely looked around in silence,—and her mother partly understood.

Back to the wash tub at the spring went the mother and began rubbing and rinsing the clothes. A certain number had to be "battled." These were laid out on a rock till the other neater things were finished. Then the "battling" began. Isom and Old Ike had rolled a big stove-wood cut of poplar down to the wash place and propped it up level, Isom had made the "battling-stick"—a heavy paddle about twenty inches long and five inches wide of white maple. This wouldn't stain the white clothes. The clothes were first soaked thoroughly in soap suds, then put on the "battling-block" and pounded until the water and dirt were beaten out—and most of the buttons unwittingly beaten off. Then they were washed again, rinsed, wrung out and hung out on the clothes pole.

But Sookie noticed that her "battling-arm" once so strong and muscular was growing weak. She was troubled with a shortness of breath, and an occasional hacking cough. All these symptoms had been growing on her for months but she did not complain. She went on milking the cow, churning, sweeping, hoeing the garden, washing the clothes, cooking, knitting the family socks and stockings, doing the numerous other things that the poorer housewives are compelled to do—doing them without a murmur. But today she noticed that her condition was really serious.

Isom came down to soak his axe handle in the hot suds "to tighten her up," and found his mother seated with chin resting on hands apparently in a deep study.

"You feelin' bad, mammy?"

Sookie sat a moment before replying.

"Isom, I haint never said nothin' about it, but I'm jist about give out. I'm a-gittin' worse and worse, an' I've been a-gettin' that a-way for a long time. 'Pears like I haint got no breath an'

no strenk. I jist caint do the work I use to, an' seems like I'm a-gittin' weaker all the time."

"What hurts you, mammy?"

"They aint nothin' specially that hurts me; I jist git all give out."

"Mammy, caint I hep you finish up the clothes?"

"Yes, if you will, son, it would jist hep me a power. My back jist gits so weak I caint hang up the clothes hardly."

So Isom's strong arm did the heavy work while his mother did the lighter duties. It was by no means customary for him to do this. He felt as his father did, and as the other men and boys in the neighborhood felt, that it was part of a woman's task to wash the family clothes. The women always *had* done the washing; the men had other things to do; so why should it *not* be that way? And the men knew quite well that the women preferred to do it. A man at the wash tub possessed about as much grace and skill as a bear, and, according to the "Widder" Sandlin, "Most always made a mummick of ever' thing an' fixed it so it warn't fitten for a body to wear." Therefore the women washed while the men did other work. And they did this work with few conveniences. A tub—sometimes two—a wash "kittle"—often merely a stove boiler—a bucket, sometimes a scrub board, quite often a battling stick and a battling block, and a line of poles erected on high forked posts—the "Widder" Sanlin always called them "posties"—this made up the equipment. The men had never done the washing and knew not how hard the task is. But the mother's hands were made strong by milking and by work in the garden, so she could wring out the sheets and even the quilts with comparative ease—if such things can ever be done with ease.

"Isom," said his mother while both were at work, "what did yer pappy do to Deely this mornin'?"

"I don't know, mammy, but I think he beat her. I broke my axe-handle an' come for another'n' jest as he wuz a-walkin' to the kitchen door with the butt of a lim' all splintered up in his hand. Deely wuz puttin' things in the little dinner basket. Pap looked at me right savage an' says, 'I don't want to hear nairy word out'n you this mornin', young man.' I didn't say nothin' for I didn't know what was up. But mammy, I tell you, if he beat her hit's got to stop."

"Isom, I'm afeard he'll whup her agin before they git to school."

"Well, I'll make her tell me about it, an' if he does thurs goin' to be hell to pay. They're some of pap's ways that I ain't a-goin' a-put up with much longer."

The washing was soon out and the two separated, Isom going back to his chopping and Sookie going to the house. Isom thought long and seriously over what he and his mother had just talked about. He was tired of the whole business and he wanted to get out of it. He planned to leave home, but after thinking that over he saw that his mother and sister would both be left "worse off" than ever. He feared that his mother would not last long under the strain and he was quite sure that some calamity would befall Deely. There seemed to be nothing to do but to "stick it out." If his pappy continued to abuse Deely he would "beat him up as shore as hell." Thus were all his nobler thoughts driven away by his vain efforts to adjust his thinking and his life to the home-life he had to live. In a ravine near by the wood thrushes and hermit thrushes were singing, but their melody was lost on his ears. Dozens of warblers were making the trees a joyous paradise, but it all seemed like a prison to him. Is it any wonder that so many lads of the hills develop into rakes and criminals when all the "nobler rage" is suppressed by the home life they have?

When Sookie entered the kitchen she found the dishes unwashed and discovered a few spots of blood on the floor. These told a tale. She hastened to heat water to wash up the blood for she feared what might follow if Isom should come and find them. She also picked the tube of the rifle full of ashes and carefully replaced the cap. This she had done every time the rifle was loaded afresh after Old Ike began chasing Isom with axe or whip or mowing blade. Poor Sookie also did some thinking. She recalled the days of her courtship and the days before when she had to wash and scrub and hoe corn for an impatient old father and a quarrelsome mother. She married rather young to escape such a hard life—and found another much more severe. Her whole married life had been a disappointment. She fancied that beautiful days and seasons of rest would come, but these had never appeared. There had been two bright spots on her past horizon; these were the days when her two babies were born. She found real joy in these little ones, the only real joy she had ever known. But that was fading away for Isom

was growing up a surly fellow who found little companionship in his mother, and Deely was small and "old" for her age and appeared to be a sickly child. The fact that her children were not growing up into beautiful and lovely maturity wrung her heart strings—but she could not help it. Home was a hell to them and a hell to her. She would leave it and end it all but for the children and the scorn of the neighbors. She wondered why some women are such fools as to marry men against the advice of everybody. And she wondered why some men can be such beasts. She wished at times that death might come gently and end it all,—but there were her two babies,—they would always be her two babies.

Old Ike did not whip Deely on the way to school. He stopped his wagon at the level place in the road just below the meeting house, and two boys who were at the spring afterwards told what happened. He climbed the high bank above the road to a fence corner where a cluster of sprouts stood. He cut one of these and trimmed it neatly, then he jumped down again.

"Now Deely, git that basket an' them books an' clim' right down over this brake-block."

Deely obeyed, but the boys said her face seemed to be all drawn up when she moved.

"Now then, take a bee-line down that-air path towards the school house. An' I'm a-gwine foller along to see that you git there."

Deely's head dropped—for she had seen the boys—and without a word she moved down the path When near the spring she stumbled on a moist rock and dropped her bottle of buttermilk which broke.

"Let me take that dinner basket, young lady," said her father, and the basket was surrendered in silence.

"Hi-dy boys!" shouted Old Ike to the two youngsters at the spring.

"Hi!" said both in unison,—and they stood looking on without further comment.

Down at the school house stood another group of boys who had been throwing wet cobs and buckeyes with hickory switches.

"Looky yander, fellers, a-comin'!" shouted one of them. All eyes were instantly turned up the branch. There down the Dripping Spring path came a wee little girl with brown bare feet and sunbonnet, her dress very long, her face hidden in shadow

and her step seemingly painful. Behind her walked Old Ike, the notorious drunkard and wood-hauler, carrying a small dinner basket in one hand, and a long switch in the other. Behind them at a safe distance came the two boys carrying a bucket of water between them but spilling most of it in their hurry.

The group of boys stood silent as the newcomers marched past. Miss Emma, the teacher, was seen within approaching the door. She had watched the silent procession through a window and was ready to meet the father and the little girl.

"Boys, dag-gone if I don't believe I seed blood on her ankle as she walked by." This from a small boy.

"Aw shet up yer lip, yer eyesight's bad," remarked an older fellow who always posed as the final authority among the boys.

The two visitors reached the door where Miss Emma stood waiting.

"Now take this here basket an' walk right up them steps," spoke the child-driver. Then he addressed the teacher:

"Miss Emma, I've fetched this gal of mine down here for you to take charge of. I had to whup her before I could make her start, and I want to leave this here—holding out the switch—with you for you to make her stay with. An' if she runs off I want you to jist let me know."

Miss Emma took the switch and Old Ike awkwardly put on his slouch hat, turned and walked away. As he walked past the group of silent gazing boys he noticed a switch in the hand of everyone except the smallest.

Miss Emma had not spoken, but when little Deely reached the doorway the teacher's arm went out and encircled the child, drawing her close and holding her in the gentlest kind of embrace she had felt since she nestled as a baby on her mother's bosom. There was a slight squirming of the little body at first, and then it began to shake with sobs. Half a dozen curious girls had come from the other side of the house to look on, and one of them said afterwards that she never in all her life saw a more sorrowful face on any human being. Miss Emma with her arm still around the little girl and with Old Ike's hick'ry in the other hand turned from the curious crowd of youngsters who had gathered in front of the door and walked back into the school room. Two of the older girls followed her.

"Boys, dag-gone if she ain't a pippin," said the small boy who thought he saw blood on Deely's ankle, and this time no one disputed his word. He spoke of Miss Emma and referred to the way she had received the little girl.

Everybody was wild to look in at the windows but no one dared to do so. The two girls came out after awhile wiping their hands on their aprons but the boys couldn't get them to talk. One of the fellows did hear one of the girls say, "Wy she broke it all up in little pieces and throwed it in the stove."

That afternoon after everyone else had gone the boy who thought he "seed blood" raised a window, climbed in and examined the stove. Next morning with bated breath he made the following report to the boys:

"Boys, she's shore in that stove broke up all in little short pieces. They ain't a piece left long enough to make a ramrod for a squirt gun." And for days afterwards the stove became an object of veneration to the younger boys.

Little Deely sat in silent suffering all the forenoon. At noon Miss Emma and the two older girls ate their lunches indoors but Deely ate nothing. She only walked to the water-bucket, changed seats a few times, and answered all questions in monosyllables. The afternoon was spent in silent sitting, and when "turning-out time" came she picked up her basket and books and without a word to anyone walked back up the Dripping Spring path to the road and hurried on home. Other children went that way but she walked far ahead of them.

When she arrived at home she found her father and mother picking beans in the garden. She had never seen her father doing such a thing before. He always insisted that "milkin' an' gyardenin' belong to the women folks. A man's got sumpum else to do." Deely went into the house and began sweeping the floor.

Old Ike had come home sober that day,—a very rare thing for him to do, and he had brought Sookie nine yards of calico to make her a dress. Old "Taterheel" Monks, the basket maker, rode out from town with him and reported afterwards that Old Ike seemed to be in a deep study all the way. He swore at his team only once—a thing which few could believe—and actually kept his temper when he discovered that a loaded wagon had driven into the other end of the bridge after he was nearly forty feet inside the bannisters.

It was therefore Old Ike's turn to back out. It was when the off-horse reared and plunged towards the bannister that the explosion occurred. He remembered how Peter Dale was crossing the bridge years before with a mule colt following behind the wagon. Somebody shot at a frog underneath the bridge and frightened the colt so badly that it ran ahead of the team. Another wagon was there to stop the colt so it turned back, became more frightened and leaped over the bannister into the water fifty feet below. Poor Peter was in sore distress. He thought the colt would surely be killed by the fall or drowned, not reckoning on a young mule's ability to swim. He drove hurriedly to the end of the bridge, "took out" the mare and led her down near the water's edge and had no difficulty in calling the high diver to the bank and to safety.

Old Ike vowed afterwards that the "cussin' " was the only thing that kept his off-horse from going over "jist the very pime blank way that Peter Dale's mule colt went. Only it would have busted shore for it wuz a heap heavier, you know." But aside from the "cussin' " Old Ike backed out without protest and let the loaded wagon pass.

He didn't run his team up the hill past Uncle Zeke's as he commonly did, and when he reached the top of the long winding drive he didn't yell to let Sookie know he was coming. Old "Taterheel" declared afterwards that it all looked "mighty quair."

"So I axed him whut he'd come on to 'im to make 'im so diffurnt. 'Jist hurryin' home to do a little work' sezee; but I 'lowed that they wuz sumpum else aside of a little work that wuz a-botherin' 'im."

It would have required a long time for Old "Taterheel", or for anyone else, to guess the truth. Old Ike finally told Uncle Zeke that it was two things that "sorter skeered 'im that day." One was Deely's white lips when she said, "Pappy, I'll go," and the other was "the cut of Isom's eye as he turned on his heel and walked away."

Isom appeared as usual just as the old man was ungearing the team, but there was no falling-out this time. Old Ike really "made a pass" at being cordial.

"Son, that looks like a good feed of hay you've got in for the hosses."

Isom almost collapsed. If his father had thrown the wagon hatchet or the coupling wrench at him, or started chasing him with

the pitchfork he would have known what to do. But to be knocked helpless in this unexpected manner was more than he could understand. He decided that he could not understand it, and that his presence might result in further embarrassment, so he went back to sharpening sticks to "stick" his mother's tomato vines. And when Old Ike left his hat in the hall and went out into the garden to pick beans with his wife the boy was bewildered sure enough.

Deely walked out into the yard to pick up chips in order to start the supper fire. Isom noticed that she walked slowly and painfully.

"Deely, whut chu reckon's happened to pap?"

"I don't know. He purt near killed me this morning. Wush I'd been big; I'd a-knocked his head off."

"Whut did he do to you?"

"He whupped me with a lim' till I couldn't stand up nur git my breath hardly."

"Did he whup you arter you left here?"

"No."

Isom looked relieved at this answer. He had expected the worst, and he had made up his mind as to what to do, but the worst didn't happen. He afterwards confided to one of Uncle Zeke's boys what he had decided to do:

"By ganny, I jist decided that pap had to quit beatin' Deely. I made a great big hick'ry-bark whup and kep it soakin' in water down below the spring. I was jist goin'-a let him git dog-drunk, and then I was goin' a-tie his hands an' feet an' whup hell out'n him."

Old Ike didn't come home drunk for weeks. He had more respect for Isom than ever before. Deely continued to go to school, and things seemed to be going better in every way. Miss Emma and the two big girls had completely won Deely. She had always been told by her father and mother, and by the neighbors, that a school is a place where little folks "git whupt," but she found things different. She did not express her appreciation to the teacher and the girls in words but she clung close to them and they knew that she felt what she would not say. One day when one of the girls—a beautiful girl she was—was telling a funny story to Deely she showed her teeth in a smile. The smile was but a modified grin,

but it was the best the little girl could do. She had not been brought up on smiles so she was not skilled in the art. But she did say to Isom one day—he told one of Uncle Zeke's boys about it—"Wush I could smile an' be purty like Hallie." Hallie was the pretty girl at school who told her funny stories at recess time.

Crowns will await those choice spirits with angel disposition who pause in their busy days and take time to tell wholesome stories to the neglected children of the poor. They hear so much that is morbid and depressing,—whinings about ailments real and imaginary, pathetic whimperings about bad luck and things that "go agin um", sex-talk from foul-mouthed men and boys and foul-toothed, whispering old women. They need wholesome stories, wholesome laughter that has no tinge of "smut" in it, wholesome thoughts that will become transformed into beautiful character. Hallie told good stories, stories with real fun in them, to Deely and won her, and so may anyone who has tact and the gift win soul-hungry little ones who have been on starvation mental and spiritual rations from babyhood.

Deely never played at school. Her little soul "dwelt apart." She held aloof from the other children, ate her dinner in the house with Miss Emma and the two big girls. Or if those three good angels chanced to go out on the roots of the big beech to eat their lunch Deely trailed with her little old basket behind them. She always sat where she could see Hallie's face. She seemed to know no games. She would sit and watch other children play "Frog-in-the-meadow", "Fox-in-the-morning", "Marching round the levee", "Snap", "Handkerchief", and the other games they played,but they seemed to offer no joys to her. Once when Elwood Gray, the champion climber and contortionist of the school, climbed to the top of a tall sycamore where he "skinned a cat" and hung by his knees, then his toes, from a limb at the very top, she clapped her hands and smiled her little grinning smile.

She learned slowly. "Thoughts . . . too deep for tears" seemed to crowd out the new thoughts that came. There were memories of scoldings, of growlings between her father and mother, of oaths and bursts of anger, and chimney corner whimperings that filled her mind and hastened her age rather than her mental development.

If those to whom it is given to read aright the lines on the

faces of abused and neglected children should only translate those lines into terms the public could read and understand they

". . . could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul . . ."

Laws made to ameliorate the untoward conditions of poor children rarely reach to the heads of the creeks. A housing law doesn't stop the "cold-wind cracks" in floors, nor put screens on doors, nor open up windows at night time. A sanitary law doesn't erect good privies for those whose standards for a satisfactory privy are fairly well met by a thick bunch of jimson weeds; nor does it always drain the swamps at the back of the field, nor put the vendors of worthless patent medicines behind federal bars. A compulsory school attendance law doesn't operate very well when neighbor must enforce it against neighbor's children. No legislation for child-protection can dig the potatoes, hole up the cabbage, strip the sorghum cane and pull the fodder, pick worms from tobacco leaves or gather in the corn. Legislation will not drive out passion and anger from unscrupulous fathers, or plug up the blubberings and whimperings of disappointed sunken-eyed grandmothers, or dispel the scoldings of nervous, overworked, untrained mothers. Until our educational system is revised to meet the real burning needs of real living people instead of serving as a vehicle for mistrained, professional educators many of whom foist a standardized system on the public; until our programs of social service are made comprehensive enough to reach out like sunbeams to farthest and most inaccessible places; until we take hold of the country church problem with scientific tongs and put "sense and sympathy" and knowledge of childhood and youth instead of bigotry and pious ignorance into thousands of pulpits; until every girl is trained thoroughly in things she ought to know about motherhood and children and child-training; until every boy is taught what his responsibility is to his wife, his home, and his children of the future,—until these things are done and done well we shall continue to have little Deely's and tens of thousands of other unreached children who grow apart from their fellows and give expression to the forces that grow strong in them in sexual crimes and general depraved lawlessness. There is no time for educators and social workers to play with pet theories and split hairs while unreached children abound. There is so much lunk-headed indifference born of pedagogical ignorance manifested

in some educational programs that to those who have long looked from the level of the stump-line and seen neglected child-life as it is, the body grows weary and the heart grows impatient when efforts are made to clear the vision of those who pose as leaders in all things educational. Somewhere near every unreached child there is a gentle heart ready to serve if it only knows how; but many a pedagogical pharisee merely passes by on the other side.

Weeks and months passed and the winter came on. Old Ike frequently "got on tears" but he was never again quite so obstreperous after he reached home. One trip from town was especially hilarious and was long commented on by the people who dwelt along the road. It was the day when Dolly Sims rode out with him. Dolly was young and beautiful, was the daughter of one of Old Ike's remote neighbors, and possessed a bit of dash for a country lass. There had been some foul whispers about her behavior. A fresh young chap incidentally remarked one day to Uncle Zeke's oldest son: "Dolly is a d——d good sport all right." And he said it with a toss of his head and a tilt of the cigarette which all young men who are "weather-wise" understand. Old Ike had "tanked up" pretty heavily that day and had given Dolly several drams. He was always rather slow about giving away liquor—was never known not to accept it, however—but "Dolly might have ev'ry drap if she wanted it, an' lick the bottle stopper to boot." As they drove on the drink took effect and both became noisy and began spooning. They "caught up with" Old "Taterheel" Monks who was walking out from town with a bag on his shoulder. Old "Taterheel" was rarely seen without a basket or a bag on his shoulder.

"Clim' in, 'Taterheel'; we're goin' to have the hell-bustin'est time before we reach the top of the hill you ever heered about. Whoa—ah'. Dad-blast yore old skin. I'll cut yore liver out with this whup if you don't stand still. Gid—dap spot'—dad-burn yore ole hide. Git along there!"

Ole "Taterheel" did climb in behind, and afterwards chuckled and told the neighbors about what happened. There were moonings and spoonings and honeyed words, wild yells from both the drinkers and a "whole passel of rip-roarin' fuss and other damn-foolery."

"I warn't a bit sorry when I got out an' walked on," said the old basket-maker, "fer I never in all my life seed an ole man

make sech a dummed fool of hisself over a gal. It was might near his house when I left um. Jest as I turned 'round the corner of the road I looked back an' saw the off horse give a big jump fer some reason. One end of the spring seat come off the bed and both fell backerds too tarnation drunk to know or keer what was happenin.' A leetle furder on I met Sooky, Ole Ike's wife, walkin' as straight as a Indian with a streak in her eye. I didn't stay to see what happened. I went on an' let um alone. I guess they fit it out tho amongst themselves."

The neighbors along the road long afterwards referred to that midday joy-ride, winked at one another in Old Ike's presence and laughed. But Old Ike never told a soul what Sookie said or did when she appeared at the wagon.

With the approach of winter Sookie grew worse. She finally had to take to her bed and Deely was compelled to stay by her. Her cough grew worse, and the medicine she got from Old Syl Beechboard did her no good. The "Widder" Sandlin came in occasionally to keep her company. Every time she came she sat with her knitting near the bed, squinted through her granulated lids, whimpered and told all the details about Elhannon's death. He had died of a "turrible hurtin' an' a coughin' in his lungs" some two years before. Other women came and sat up with Sookie at night. But all day and every day Deely was head nurse and housekeeper.

Can anyone but the Great Father ever know what a child suffers under circumstances like these?

At last the crisis came. The "Widder" Sandlin declared afterwards that she "seed a coffin in her dream pime-blank like Sookie's," and that a death watch ticked all night right at the head of her bed.

It happened early in the morning while Deely was asleep. Sookie had asked them not to wake the child. The "Widder" Bates and Old Aunt Marthy were at the bedside. Old Ike and Isom were in the room as sad and silent spectators. Aunt Marthy said afterwards that "It come on jes as easy as a ripple an' she went off jes lak a little child."

"Lor, Mizz Julie, she went off des lak a baby goin' asleep. Pore woman hed never knowed nuthin' but trouble and tribulation, an' I spec, Mizz Julie, hit wuz de fust time she saw peace ahead

since she wuz a little baby in her mammy's arms. She sho did take it easy. 'Twasn't 'tall lak she had to live.

"Miss Julie, 'pears lak I've almost always noticed dat when a pusson live hard dey die easy. An' if he didn't make her live lak a dawg no po' woman ever did. Must be she wuz glad to go.

"Mizz Julie, whut you reckon will become of a man-pusson who treat his wife an' babies so bad?"

These two women—Aunt Marthy and the "Widder" Bates—one black and a former slave, the other the wife of an old Confederate soldier, remained through the morning doing the necessary things about the sick room. They dressed Sookie and "laid her out." They worked side by side as human beings, recognizing no race distinctions, but did a humble service to the bereaved family which few others would have paused to do. The "Widder" Bates was a hardshell, but Old Marthy belonged to no church. She expressed her attitude towards the church one day to "Mizz Julie": "I jes tell you, Mizz Julie, I hain't got much to do wid dese mou'nful-faced preachers that do precious little but howl in de pulpit an' try to git folks to go to prayer meetin' when dey're too tired to go. I ain't nevah jine no chu'ch, but I always does whut de Lawd tells me to do. Evah time a chile git sick 'pears lak de Lawd jes tells me to go an' hep out, an' I goes. I ain't got much time to go to chu'ch; dey're too many sick folks dat need help fo' me to go an' heah some mou'nful-faced preacher-man howl at me. Dat ain't gwine kyore no sick babies, Mizz Julie. If he'd say sumpum to help de babies an' hep me I'd like to go. But I'se gwine take chances on gittin' to hebum wid heppin' de babies an' de po' sick."

Early after breakfast Old Ike walked down the road to the "meetin' house" and came out into the woods where Uncle Zeke and two of his boys were sawing board cuts.

"Zeke, I want you to go up an' take Sookie's measure."

"Wy she ain't dead is she?"

"Yes, died about an hour before day this mornin'."

"Well, she was a good woman, Ike."

Then Old Ike broke down and wept like a "whipt puppy."

"Yes, Zeke, she was the best woman that ever lived, an' I jist treated her like a dang-busted dawg."

"Well, she's left you now."

Uncle Zeke walked with great solemnity to a tall sourwood

sprout, took out his knife and cut it near the ground and trimmed it neatly. Then he turned to his sons as he walked back:

"Boys, you might shoulder your saw and axe an' take um home I reckon." Then he and Old Ike walked away in silence.

After "taking" Sookie's measure he walked into town—nearly five miles—selected a coffin and walked back by noon. Old Ike offered the use of one of his horses but Uncle Zeke declined. He usually preferred to walk when he had no heavy burden to carry. A neighbor asked him one day why he always walked when he went on a journey, and he replied, "Well, when I walk it always gives me more time to think, an' my legs don't jolt when I go over a rock."

How readily do the poor in the open country help one another. There's never a time when they are too busy with their own affairs to answer a call for help. They always go when a neighbor cries out to them. "Po' folks always hep po' folks," said Old Marthy one day, "Rich man don't never bother wid a hongry niggah."

Aunt Marthy said that Deely "didn't seem to change a bit" when she saw her mother dressed ready for burial.

"Mizz Julie, de chile des went on makin' a fire for breakfast jist lak nothin' had gone wrong."

The coffin and box were brought out that afternoon, Sookie's body was laid into it—Aunt Marthy superintending it all—and a little procession drove away to Pleasant Grove graveyard where other neighbors had the grave ready. There was no prayer, no ceremony. The coffin was opened so all who wished might look at the face a last time—and almost everyone, even the small children, looked at it—then it was closed and lowered into the vault. The neighbors withdrew while the grave was being filled, but Little Deely and Grizzly stood at the head of the grave looking in. Grizzly sat shivering and watching every move. Deely looked on in silence. When the mound was made smooth and beaten with shovels and the crude shale markers were placed in position they turned and walked away, Grizzly following at Deely's heels in a slow walk. Then the funeral party went home.

Within less than a year Old Ike was married again. Sallie Mullins was the "victim"—according to Aunt Marthy. She belonged to a large family most of whom had "married off" or left home, but she stayed on, took care of her old blubbering mother

till she died, then of her father whose face was eaten up by a cancer. Sallie had never gone to school a day in her life, had known little but heavy responsibilities, and so when the romance about which she had dreamed for so many years seemed within her grasp she was unwilling to let it slide even though Old Ike, whose reputation she well knew, was the hero.

"Well, if he thinks I'm purty enough, an' can stand me, I guess maybe I can stand him." Thus she spoke to the "Widder" Bates who declared afterwards that "the pore crazy girl hain't got a speck o' sense."

It didn't matter in the least to Sallie that she was "playing second fiddle" to Dolly Sims. Old Ike had made overtures to Dolly but came away crestfallen and badly worsted. He thus reported the encounter to Jim Ed'rds who afterwards told it to Uncle Zeke:

"You know, Jim, she was always as purty to me as a speckled pup. So I got a me pint one day an' went out to see her on business. But dang-bust my time, Jim, do you know she wouldn't tech a blasted drap; an' when I sorter hitched my chair over an' said sumpum' about marryin' dummed if she didn't batterwhang me on the jaw with her hand that made me see a streak of hell fire, an' jist cussed me out'n the house. An' I put. Yes, sir, the little wild cat huzzy almost spit fire right at me an' called me more names in a minute than you could take home in a hamper basket. Yes, sirree, I put out; an' I never felt so much like a ding-blasted whupt puppy in my life."

"Whut did you say to her, Ike," inquired Jim.

"Say! Wy hell-up-a-gum-stump, Jim, whut wuz there to say? I put, I tell you."

Deely endured her new mammy somewhat as she would the measles—something she was not responsible for and could not easily get rid of. The new mammy tried to ingratiate herself into the good esteem of the little girl, but Deely had known about her "snuff-dippin'," her shouting at "grave-yard meetin's," her capacity for swallowing the most unbelievable morsels of old wives' gossip, and her smothered whisperings as she passed "the turrible tales" on to some innocent neighbor. So the child held aloof, lived much with Isom and thought her own thoughts.

Sallie and Old Ike "fought like cats." Their home life soon became the talk of all the neighbors. Old Ike had said one day to

Uncle Zeke, "I ganny, Zeke, I jes couldn't do without a woman at my house no longer. Sallie was the first one I thought uv an' so I went arter her."

Uncle Zeke had already heard about his adventure with Dolly Sims, so he said, "Looks like a likely feller of yore age, Ike, might a-gone after a purty young gal."

Old Ike reddened a little and replied, "Better have a woman nearer your own age. They don't git so many fool notions as young uns." Uncle Zeke didn't press the matter further.

Old Aunt Marthy went to wash one Monday when Sallie was "ailin." She had certain observations to report next day.

"I jes tell you, Mizz Julie, Ole Ike's sholy met his match dis time. If he don't come drivin' down de hill some day wid his eyes all gone I ain't black. Dat woman'll sho' scratch um out. I went up to dinner an' Ole Man Ike he quawl 'bout de black biskits, an' 'pon my honor if dat woman didn't settle him too quick for anything. Dey wuz de wust biskits I ever et. Wy Mizz Julie, you could a-knocked a bull yearling down any day wid one uv um. Ise had a hard belly-ache ever since.

"But, Mizz Julie, I'se turrible sorry for dat po' little Deely. De little thing's gittin' right peak-ed. Looks lak she's wastin' away des lak a aig wid a hole in it. An' she's coughin' des lak her ma.

"Mizz Julie, when you gwine give me dat ole pair of shoes?"

What Aunt Marthy said about Deely was true. About a year after his father married Isom left home and hired out as a work hand at fifteen dollars a month and board. He had endured the bad cooking and the family quarrels as long as he could, but Deely had to stay. He could not take her along. He said to Elwood Gray one day, "I'd give anything in the world I've got if only I could git Deely away from home."

The poor chap didn't have much. When he packed his belongings to go away he found upon taking inventory that he possessed two pairs of home-knit sox, one extra "hick'ry" shirt, one pair of Sunday trousers that cost a dollar at "Cheap Nathan's," one shoddy coat, a "flop hat," a banjo, two coon skins, and a Jew's harp. Deely gave him a short pencil someone had given her while she was at school. He had no overcoat, no rain coat, no underwear. He had never possessed such articles.

When he left Deely walked with him to the yard fence—there was no gate—and stood leaning against a corner and watching him as he walked away.

"Come home sometime, Ise."

"All right, Deely, I will."

When he reached the top of the rise out the road he turned and saw her still standing there with her elbows resting on the top rail and her chin in her hands. Grizzly was sitting in his favorite lookout place on a flat top-rail looking out the road, shivering and whining. With this last scene in mind he went over the hill and disappeared.

The winter months passed slowly. They were months of hard work, suffering and loneliness for little Deely. Her pappy had begun coming home drunk again, and now that Isom was away there was no one to act as a restraining influence. The old man "tore-up-jack" with everything on the place. Bad food and scolding were having their effect, and he was growing desperate. Deely kept the tube of the rifle picked full of ashes as her mother had done before her. But he never beat Deely; he merely cursed and scolded. He said to Old "Taterheel" one day, "I've seed them white lips too many times at night ever to bit the little gal agin."

A baby was born to Sallie which soothed the old man's wrath for a time, but its cries of suffering caused by poor attention soon drove him to desperation again.

As spring came on Deely began to suffer with a new affliction. A "breaking-out" appeared on one of her ankles and another on the side of her throat. Her ankle became so drawn that she had to walk on her toes and her throat grew so bad that it began to interfere with her speech. Old Ike became alarmed and took her to town to a doctor. After a seemingly careless examination and a few questions the doctor wrote out a prescription, gave directions for giving the medicine, then turned and walked away. Old Ike returned to the office later to inquire what the trouble was.

"Whut you reckon the trouble is with her, Doc?"

"Looks like scrofula, Ike."

But it was not scrofula. Old "Taterheel" heard the doctor talking to another man one day when Old Ike was walking by.

"That durned old devil ort have been hung twenty years ago."

"Why 's that doctor?"

"Why? Did you ever see that little girl of his. She's got syphilis, and it's going to kill her. And her daddy's responsible for her having it. Twelve months from today she'll be in the ground."

"You don't mean to say———"

"I mean to say that sometime years ago he got it himself and gave it to his wife and child. His first wife died about two years ago of consumption. But I saw her, and I tell you that was not all of her trouble. Now it's breaking out on his child, and she'll soon follow her mother. Some durned old jackasses ought to be took out and shot while they are still young."

Deely spent much time outdoors. The warm sun had brought out the early flowers and the buds on the trees had begun to swell. A little way from the house were the falls, a rugged, picturesque gorge with a fine stream of water pouring over a ledge nearly fifty feet high. Along the sides of this gorge the wild flowers grew in great profusion—service (called "sarvice" in the open country), dogwood, redbud, great clumps of tall white honeysuckle, azalea, two kinds of anemones, hepatica, rheumatism plant, Indian turnip (Jack-in-the-pulpit), dog-tooth violet, bird-foot violet (which she called "mountain pansies"), crow's foot, everlasting, ragwort, ladies' slipper, wild poppies, and great forests of sweet William. She loved to wander about among these flowers and gather them. Almost every Sunday afternoon she could hear voices coming up the valley far below, coming from parties of young folks who loved to visit the falls and gather the wild flowers. These bubbling, laughing, skylarking youngsters never guessed that high upon a point hidden away by rocks and bursting buds frequently sat a tired little creature watching them and wondering how some people can be so well and happy while others must always be miserable.

She became interested in the animal and bird life in the woods. Ground squirrels were everywhere and ground hogs were plentiful. The latter came out on warm days to forage. More than once she sat still while one of these big brindle fellows nosed the ground all about her. Gray squirrels and red squirrels chased one another up and down trees and through the tree tops. Some old dead chestnuts stood on the hillside which made a paradise for the woodpeckers. She loved to hear their rappings on hard limbs and splinters and their never-ending bird chatter. The big black

pileated woodpeckers frequented these trees and nested in them. She always called these big birds "whut-whuts." Isom called them "good-gods" but she didn't like to use that term. Once when she was nestled down in a leafy seat one of these fine red-headed fellows flew down on a stump near her and searched it thoroughly for bugs and worms. After making a fine meal of the creeping things he found he flew back to a tree top and gave a loud call that was answered far away on another hillside. Then he flew away giving his peculiar flying call as he went and disappeared across the valley.

Deely told Isom about all these adventures and Isom afterwards related them to one of Uncle Zeke's boys.

But Deely's strength began to fail her rapidly. A peculiar redness and roughness appeared on her face and hands and in other spots on her body. She had seen something like this on other children, on those of one family in particular, but she didn't know what it was. Sallie put mutton tallow on it and gave her bitters, but this did no good. Her weakness at length became so serious that she could no longer take long walks but had to remain close to the house. On bright days she got far enough away to be out of range of Sallie's rasping, scolding voice, but on rainy days she had to "put up with" her tormentor.

She was at last confined to her bed, where poor food poorly prepared, stuffy air and inattention hastened the end. Neighbor women came in occasionally to help and "take turns settin' up." The "Widder" Sandlin came with her whimperings and weepy recital of incidents during Elhannon's illness. Old Aunt Marthy "dropt in" now and then to wash up the bed clothes and always came away disgusted.

"I swear to God, Mizz Julie, dey're lettin' dat po' chile lie dar and die in dirt. Looks lak she 's a-starvin' to death, an' she's almost et up wid chinches. If I didn't go dar an' clean things up once in a while I dunno whut in de worl' it would come to. Sallie she sets round an' nusses dat po' squallin' baby an' looks 'most lak a skeletin herself. Mizz Julie, I jes don't b'lieve de woman knows how to cook a meal's vittles. 'Pon my honor, I jes b'lieve she's plum' eegnurent."

The end came one July night while the barn owls and whip-poor-wills were loudly calling and when the midnight stars were

brightest. Aunt Marthy was the only one present besides Sallie and Deely's father. In the final moments a huge horned owl across the hollow began calling to his mate.

"I jes don't b'lieve it wuz no owl, Mizz Julie," said Old Aunt Marthy next day. "Hit made de quairest noise of anything I evah heeard. I wuz skeered almost white, an' you may b'lieve me I didn't git out'n dat do till daylight."

The child became delirious before the end came, but Old Marthy never would tell what she said.

"No, Mizz Julie, I ain't nevah gwine tell whut she said. 'Twouldn't do nobody no good, an' I don't never want it said of me dat I hain't got no mo' sense den de "Widder" Sandlin, jes gwine on an' tellin' everything a sick pusson says."

Next morning a tall, sad and silent old man a little more stooped than usual came to Uncle Zeke's gate and called, "Hello, Zeke!"

"Hello, Come in!"

"No, I cain't, I guess. Come out."

Uncle Zeke put on his hat and walked out to the gate.

"Want you to make a coffin for my little gal."

"When did that happen, Ike?"

"Last night about midnight. Hit's jist more 'n I can stand, Zeke. Looks like I've made a plum failure of it."

Thereupon Uncle Zeke proceeded to give Old Ike the only lecture on morality and good conduct towards his family that the old woodhauler had ever listened to. He "took it like a baby." When he walked away he said, "Well, I'll do my best, Zeke."

Uncle Zeke made the coffin that morning, and his wife, "Mizz Julie," furnished the lining. Then he carried it on his shoulder up to Old Ike's house. Aunt Marthy went along and superintended everything.

Isom had arrived and looked on in silence. Word had been sent to him about Deely's condition but it had reached him late.

That afternoon another little procession drove away in three farm wagons, Grizzly walking with drooping head and tall under the "hind axle" of the foremost. In the last wagon rode Uncle Zeke, "Miss Julie," Miss Emma, the teacher, Isom, and Old Aunt Marthy carrying a big bundle in her hands. When they reached the graveyard they found the grave ready. The coffin was opened

for all who wished to take a last look, then was lowered beside Deely's mother. Grizzly sat by on an uprooted stump looking on. Aunt Marthy surprised everybody by opening her bundle and scattering whole handfuls of roses, honeysuckle and marigolds over the coffin. Then while the lid was being put on the box she squatted down at the foot of the grave and wept in silence. Grizzly shivered and whined, and Isom looked on unmoved.

Thus passed away this child of poverty and sorrow, one among the thousands of Deely's who live out among the fields and hills whose lives are as precious to them as ours are to us, but who cannot overcome the heavy odds laid against them. Many are robbed of their hope and chance for a happy life before they are born; many others experience untold suffering at the hands of unscrupulous fathers and untrained mothers. A large number of these.—and thousands of others who live in happier homes—are caught up by relentless diseases and hurried on into eternity.

Thus will it remain until we go about the task of reaching the unreached country child—the child of the less favored home—just as we would go about any other business enterprise. The time has come for action—action and organization. We have long talked in conferences about what ought to be done, while the little Deelys and their brothers and sisters have been waiting and suffering and dying.

Blessed be the organization whose hand will be gentle enough and whose arm will be long enough to reach up to the heads of all the long, lonesome valleys to lighten the burdens and brighten the lives of the thousands of Deelys who are patiently, silently waiting for that hand to be extended.

LOOKING BACK TO CHILDHOOD DAYS

WALTER PRICHARD EATON

When I was a boy at the age when the chart line showing the number of calories needed to counteract the destruction of tissue by motor activities takes a sharp upward rise, boys slightly older taught me the words and music of a certain ballad which can not be printed here. I regret to say that the place chosen for the lesson was the Methodist horse sheds. A few years later, when I reached college and perused Professor Child's collection of Scottish and English border ballads, what was my astonishment to discover this identical ballad! It was current, I believe, in some nineteen European tongues, in one form or other. No doubt Professor Childs' versions were purer than the one I learned (employing "pure" in a strictly philological sense!), but in spite of the modern substitutes in my version, the ballad was recognizable, verse for verse as far as the professor dared print it.

Now, the point of this is, of course, that we go to Cape Breton or the Kentucky Mountains for the "last surviving examples of balladry," of songs handed down by oral tradition, yet right in the Methodist horse sheds, in a Massachusetts village twelve and a half miles from Beacon Hill, a group of smallish boys, not so many years ago, were giving a perfect example of oral tradition. I haven't the smallest doubt, alas! but that song is still being transmitted by the same means today, by boys who never saw it in print, and wouldn't dream it possible that it could be printed. Now reflections occur to me—why have children not been studied more as repositories of oral tradition—and what Puritan father, or Puritan father's son, brought that particular ballad over from dear old England? Perhaps we had better not press the second question just now, in this year of Pilgrim celebration!

I can at once recall many examples, from my own boyhood, of oral tradition, and of a peculiar folk lore of childhood. "Counting-out" games, of course, are something no child is taught by its

parents, and which few people, young or old, have ever seen in print. Clifton Johnson, in his entertaining book, "They say in New England," has taken down many of these jingles, and it is interesting to compare them with some person not from New England, to get the local variations. Did you ever use this one?

Aker, backer, soda cracker,
Aker, backer, boo;
If your father chews terbaccer,
Out goes you.

I did. I learned to lisp it from some child a year or two older, who in turn had learned it from an older child, and so on back into a remote past. Mother Goose rhymes, of course, are sung to children, and read by them in picture books; but counting-out games are not. The children themselves hand these down.

Here was a decidedly uncommendable rhyme we used to chant about any teacher we didn't happen to like—that is to say, almost all our teachers.

An eagle flew from North to South
With Biddy (Campbell, Smith, Parker) in his mouth;
But when he found he had a big (fat, thin) fool,
He dropped her down in the John Street School.

I do not recommend this poem either on ethical or esthetic grounds; I simply point out that it is self evident we didn't learn it from our elders. It was handed down not from father to son, but from one class of children to the next, and adapted by each to the local needs, sometimes by a daring employment of syncopation.

Children sometimes have an almost uncanny smack at rhyming. I well recall a certain village character, an excellent man and citizen, whose name was Gorus. He had, however, an unfortunate affliction which caused him to keep his head perpetually inclined to one side. We boys, little brutes that we were, would dodge behind a fence when we saw him coming, and then chant, at the top of our lungs,

Happy days are now before us,
Here comes poor old crook-necked Gorus.

The unfortunate man had to endure this cruel jingle, hurled at him from behind tree and hedge, for twenty years after the first

boy struck it off in a moment of inspiration. Parents labored hard to kill it; children were punished for singing it. Yet it endured as long as the subject thereof was a figure on our streets.

Another jingle which we employed for purposes of derision was not, like this, of local invention, but of authentic antiquity. It was chanted invariably in front of the cobbler's shop, to make him come out and chase us with a strap. He was rather fat, and the danger was not great; still, it was sufficient to lend zest to the adventure.

> Leather-belly, Leather-belly, come and have a swim;
> Yes, by golly, when the tide comes in.

How old this verse is, I can not say, but it is probably of great antiquity. Certainly, the cobbler considered it an insult, and pursued us as no doubt the cobblers of long ago had pursued the taunting small boys of Old England.

There was a curious weather superstition in the part of the country where I was raised, which obviously was not of great age. We boys believed that if, when we put our ear to a telegraph pole, the wires were giving forth a loud hum, it was going to rain. The fact that our elders poo-pooed this belief causes me to think it was a superstition invented by the children themselves. I do not know if it still persists, but certainly in my day boys laid their ears to the poles of a Saturday morning with profound and serious interest.

The peculiar games of childhood, their origin, growth and perpetuation, are an interesting study. How well I recall one game (alas! a "gambling game," and so only to be indulged in surreptitiously by me) that flourished some thirty years ago, and passed away, no doubt, with the passing of the tools with which it was played. In those days there was a picture of a professional ball player printed on a card, in every box of a certain brand of cigarettes. It became a matter of passionate concern to collect as many of these pictures as possible, always striving for a complete set. Partly to facilitate the collecting, still more, no doubt, to give outlet to the gambler's instinct, some boy invented a game which spread like a grass fire. You pasted a picture on a piece of heavy card-board, and every other boy had one so backed. Then one of you scaled out your card-board, and the other threw his. If he could span with his outstretched fingers from his card to yours,

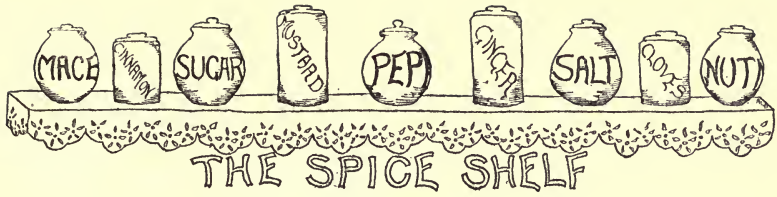
you had to give him a picture from your precious pack. If he couldn't span, he had to give you one. The game was, of course, a variant of marbles—of "popping at a snapper."

And speaking of marbles, I often wonder what has become of them—and of tops and hoops, as well. I don't doubt they are all employed in the cities, but in the country, where I live, tops and hoops are now absolutely unknown, and marbles are only used by the very small boys, who don't know what to do with them. Why is this? What made the break in the long tradition of childhood sport? Of course, in the old days almost every village boasted a "notion store" (mine was kept by a grim spinster named Emily Ruggles, who was only grim on the outside, really), in which were sold tops, hoops, marbles, slates, garter and sling-shot elastic, paper soldiers and dolls, calico, spools, etc., etc. Such stores have passed quite away. The average village today has no provision whatever for the children's trade. Whatever the reason, at any rate, hereabouts "miggles" no longer usher in the spring, nor tops the autumn. Baseball and football, however, hold their own with undiminished force.

I notice through the country many public playgrounds where, in summer, the play is "supervised." I would not seem to criticise this proceeding. Doubtless there is good reason for it. But it always makes me sad, none the less. Supervised play! When I recall my childhood, and think of all the superbly fascinating games we invented, or were taught by children just older than we, games which were spontaneous expressions of our own needs and imaginations, supervised play strikes me as a little absurd. A "snake bush" (as we called the American yew) was a very prickly fort, which some of us defended, armed with barrel tops as shields, while others, as red Indians armed with small pine tree leaders for javelins, attacked with yells and war whoops. An old oak tree was converted into a gymnasium, with a punching bag made of bed ticking stuffed with bran, a trapeze, a rope to climb, and so on. With an old cannon ball we put the shot. We built huts in any little piece of woods, and were happy for days and days in an imagined world far, far from sorbid, bread and butter reality. The only supervision I recall was in the use of edged tools. I was taught, thank God, to use a saw, a plane, a chisel, when I was but 8 years old, and at 10 I was able to build a 12-foot canvas

canoe which really floated and took me all over Birch Meadow in the flooded spring. Teach a boy really to make something with tools, to make it strong and right, and you have done more to make him happy, to develop him, than you can accomplish in any other way. Give him power to realize his own dreams, not try to supply him with the dreams you think he ought to have.

But I am getting far afield, having started merely to suggest that in the games and folk lore of childhood is a fascinating field for the study of oral tradition, that might conceivably throw some light on the processes of adult folk lore. I once sat on the balcony of a New York Club for several nights, and watched the birth and development of a new game, invented by the two daughters and the son of the janitor of a building across the street. It was played with a rubber ball, which had to be bounced down with the flat of the hand, upon the squares of sidewalk pavement, in a certain one-two-three order, while the player hopped after it on one foot, and could neither miss a bounce nor step on a crack. From night to night it grew, till it became extremely intricate and difficult. I have no doubt it was passed on along the block, and became a regular pastime of the poor little side-walk children, who, after all, show a marvelous adaptability, and are not discouraged by their stony environment. Such an environment, however, is far from ideal. A certain safe, free space, with grass and trees and a bit of woods and water, with some mystery to it, so one can seem hidden away, and then a lot of children turned loose to play, not "supervised" at all, is what I like best to see. If their little minds have been stocked in advance with stories and reading which feed and stimulate the imagination, have no fear but they will invent better games than you can. For that matter, have no fear but a thousand games from the remotest part will be taught to them, nobody can say just how, by the mysterious processes of oral tradition. The Southern Mountaineers may still sing the songs of Shakespeare's England, while we wonder at it. But right in the heart of the Eastern seaboard children still sing the songs and play the games of Shakespeare's England, and we do not think it strange at all.



"We have just learned of a teacher who started poor twenty years ago and has retired with the comfortable fortune of $50,000. This was acquired through industry, economy, conscientious effort, indomitable perseverence and the death of an uncle who left her an estate valued at $49,999.50."—*Seneca Voc'l School.*

THE WAY THEY ANSWER 'EM

(*From high school students' examination papers in civics*)

All countries are naturalized but all of them aren't civilized yet. A country is naturalized when it has something natural in it.

When you become a citizen you have to answer allegiance to your old country.

The Serpent of the Nile was Cleopatra, who vamped Antony.

The answers of the oracle were often amphibious.

—*School and Community.*

The "information tests" now so popular sometimes elicit strange information. Here are some aberrant answers obtained in the questionnaire of the Friends School of Philadelphia:

Define "doughboy"?

A name for American soldiers because the Secretary of War is named Baker.

Who founded the Methodists?

Methuselah.

Define "unicorn"?

A kind of bunion.

Define "dromedary"?

A place where students board.

What is a "silo"?

A kind of musical instrument.

Who is John Drinkwater?

The man who is making England dry.

What is a "palliative"?

Something to put out fires.

What is a "perambulator"?

Something to make coffee in.

What is the "Buford"?

The "Buford" is the ship used to deport alienists who are undesirable.

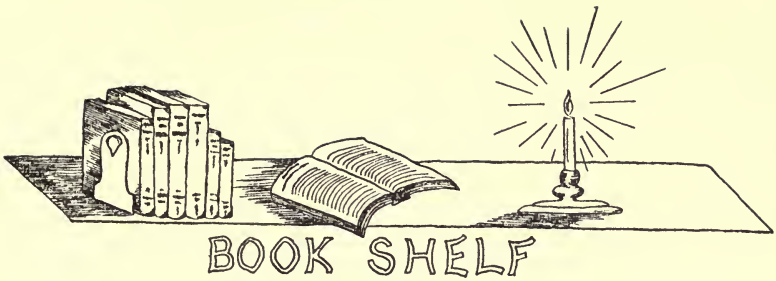
What is a "pedagogue"?

Something with ten sides.

A teacher who will not listen to reason.

One who is worshipped as a god.

An idiot. —*The Independent.*



THE ALMOSTS. A Study of the Feeble-Minded. Helen MacMurchy. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, $1.50.

This is an interesting attempt to illustrate certain types of feeble-mindedness by excerpts from the descriptions of famous characters in fiction, ranging from the Fools of Shakespeare to "Kippy" in Alice Hegan Rice's "Mr. Off." Dr. MacMurchy devotes her last chapter to an appeal for kindness and sensible training for the mentally subnormal whom she says, it is "easy to make happy, safe and useful."

M. B. E.

SCHOOL STATISTICS AND PUBLICITY. Carter Alexander. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company, $1.80.

This book is an excellent text-book for those engaged in school administration. "The man of the hour," the editor states in his preface, "is the superintendent of schools," and his chief weapon in leading the people of a community in educational activity is publicity. Mr. Carter explains how effective publicity can be secured through the proper collection, compilation and interpretation of school statistics, and, fully as important, through the presentation of such data in a simple and graphic form. The value of the book is increased through the use of frequent illustrations taken from school surveys and reports which have been made during the last few years. If Mr. Carter's suggestions are followed out by school officials and his methods adopted, the book will accomplish its purpose, "to make known to the public those inner workings of the school, to the end that fluid educational interest may take on stablility of action directed towards progressive ends."

G. H. F.

BOY-WORK: EXPLOITATION OR TRAINING. Rev. Spencer J. Gibb. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

The author states his thesis rather neatly in the first chapter:

> "The value of the apprentice" (under the earlier industrial scheme) "lay, not in what he was doing, but in what he was becoming. . . . To-day this principle has been reversed. Exploitation, in fine, has taken the place of training."

We are thus made acquainted with the author's point of view and are quite prepared for the discussion which follows. It is most rapidly explained by citing the chapter legends: The Problem; The Boy; The Work; The Choice of Work; The Elementary School; The Continuation School; The Reform of Boy-Work; Conclusion.

His presentation of the "The Boy," in a manner compatible with the size of the book covers the physical and psychological changes occurring at adolescence with particular reference to his entry into work. "The Work" is an intelligent discussion of the "blind alley" question, pointing out how certain jobs have in them the essence of "training for the future" if only some effort be made by the employer. In the chapter called "The Choice of Work," which is an English phrase for Vocational Guidance, the author reviews the confusion arising from vesting the authority for directing juvenile employment in two bodies, the Board of Trade and the Board of Education.

School troubles exist in England as well as in America, and there as here "the problem is one of method." Continuation schools apparently stand a splendid chance of success with the provision under the Education Act of 1918, for their extension throughout the island. It is interesting to observe that old Mr. Cotton Trades protested vigorously against this section of the Act—its coming, he prophesied, would "mortally endanger the industry."

To our great surprise Mr. Gibbs says that one blind alley which "seems to be necessary is that of telegraph messenger." If presented as *boy-work*, it might be a tonic for ill-health, or a discipline for boys in need of probationary treatment. In view of the fact that he has earlier pointed out the exposure to the elements, and that this service at night is generally conceded to be morally dangerous, we are a bit shocked that this occupation should be considered for the adolescent boy.

As an introduction to the child labor problem in England this little book is useful, but its value is limited because one does not feel that the author speaks from an intimate knowledge of the question. It is perhaps partly a matter of compression, though that is a vice not to be entirely despised.

R. A. A.

A Philosophy of Play. Luther Halsey Gulick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.60.

"If you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect what he shall be, direct the form of play." So writes Joseph Lee in a "Foreword" to Dr. Gulick's posthumous book called "A Philosophy of Play." Dr. Gulick was a scientific and sympathetic student of his subject and no man has had better opportunities for study. His professional connection with physical training, athletics and games covered twenty years. His treatment of the psychology of play emphasizes racial heredity without ignoring the element of social tradition. This book is the most important contribution to the literature interpretative of play that has been made since Hall's "Adolescence"

and Lee's "Play in Education," with the possible exception of Patrick's "Psychology of Relaxation." It should be noted that much of Dr. Gulick's theory has previously been published in monographs and books. The present volume is a summing up of his observations and conclusions.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON PLAY AND RECREATION. Howard R. Knight and Marguerita P. Williams. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 35 cents.

The Department of Recreation of the Russell Sage Foundation has published a revised and enlarged edition of its 48-page pamphlet bearing the above title. This constitutes an up-to-date and fairly complete bibliography of play, recreation and community center activities, arranged under twenty main heads.

Reserved for review in a later issue:

THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT AND SOCIAL WORK. Arthur James Todd. Macmillan Company, $2.00.

WHAT THE WAR TEACHES ABOUT EDUCATION. Ernest Carroll Moore. Macmillan Company, $1.40.

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. Walter S. Athearn. George H. Doran Company, $1.50.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NERVOUS CHILD. Mrs. Elida Evans. Dodd, Mead and Company, $2.50.

PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONALITY AND INTERNATIONALISM. Prof. W. B. Pillsbury. D. Appleton and Company, $2.50.

ARMY MENTAL TESTS. Yoakum and Yerkes. Henry Holt and Company, $1.50.

HEY RUB-A-DUB-DUB. Theodore Dreiser. Boni and Liveright, $2.00.

GAMES FOR CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT. Hilda A. Wrightson. The James A. McCann Company, $1.75.

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AMERICAN PROGRESS

1620-1920

Just three hundred years ago that visionary band of Pilgrims gave thanks for their safe arrival in the land of opportunity. Three centuries of American progress!

But did those Pilgrim Fathers dream that progress would bring what it has? They brought up their children to work, instilled in them that sense of responsibility which has been the basis of much of our social effort, but especially taught them to revere education. Almost the first thing the Pilgrims did was to establish schools for their children, the free, public schools of America.

And today?

There are at least five and a half million illiterates in the United States.

Nearly one-fifth of all American children between 10 and 15 are out of school earning their own living.

Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin all report a startling increase in the number of children leaving school to go to work in the year 1920.

Is this the progress that the Pilgrim Fathers intended? Is it a progress consistent with American ideals? Can we afford to progress at the expense of children?

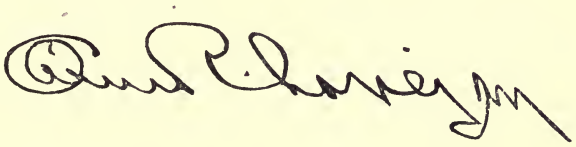
1921 is what we call a big legislative year; 42 state legislatures will be in session, and in them we hope to initiate better school, health, labor, and general welfare laws for children. In 15 of these

states such advances are imperative. We are also pushing our constructive state surveys, studying the actual conditions surrounding children in a given environment, and suggesting the particular measures necessary for their welfare. We are trying to deal not merely in palliative effort, but to get to the bottom of the thing.

Stephen Leacock says in "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice":

> "The chief immediate direction of social effort should be towards the attempt to give every human being in childhood adequate food, clothing, education, and an opportunity in life. This will prove to be the beginning of many things."

And we agree with him.



NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

The N. C. L. C. in West Virginia

Through the generosity of several public-spirited men and women of West Virginia, the National Child Labor Committee is enabled to study the conditions affecting children in that state in the fields of health, schools, labor, rural life, dependency, and delinquency, the laws relating to these fields, and the administrative agencies at work in them. The study is already under way.

The N. C. L. C. in Tennessee

The Tennessee Child Welfare Commission has just issued a small six-page pamphlet for general distribution in the state. We quote a portion, as follows:

"The Tennessee Child Welfare Commission was appointed by Governor Roberts in January, 1920, to perform a four-fold task—

1. To find out what are the actual conditions affecting child life in Tennessee.

2. To examine critically the existing system of law and administration so far as it concerns children.

3. To prepare a report of findings and recommendations to be submitted to the Governor and the Legislature.

4. To assist in getting old laws amended and new laws passed in cases where such legislative action is found to be desirable.

The State of Tennessee has long accepted—from the very time of adopting its Constitution—the policy of providing through law and administrative agencies for the protection and education of its children. The appointment of the Child Welfare Commission, for the special purposes above described, is in line with this well-established policy.

A Children's Code is the goal toward which the Commission is working. A children's code is *a charter of children's rights*, or, since

rights imply reciprocal duties, a comprehensive and thoroughly unified system of law and administration effectualizing in the highest possible degree the duties of the State toward its wards, the children. It is a name for an improved system in which—

1. All the laws relating to children are brought into harmony with one another.

2. The laws, on the one hand, and the administrative agencies, on the other, are better coordinated.

3. Both laws and administration are fitted to present conditions and adapted to modern legislative and administrative standards.

A children's code deals primarily with boys and girls, their interests and needs. It is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.

A child welfare survey of the whole State of Tennessee and covering all phases of child life in their manifold inter-relations was the first necessary step for the Commission to take—the gathering of authentic information. The Commission called to its aid the National Child Labor Committee, which had performed similar service with conspicuous success in other States. A staff of specialists has been at work in Tennessee for eight months making *one of the most comprehensive and exhaustive studies of child-welfare conditions and problems that has ever been made on a State-wide scale.* Their report, now before the Commission, embraces chapters on—

1. The Child and the State.
2. Health.
3. Schools.
4. Recreation.
5. Child Labor.
6. Rural Life.
7. Juvenile Courts.
8. Mothers' Pensions.
9. Institutions.
10. Home Finding.

This report is a remarkable exemplification of the scientific spirit in social work. Representatives of the National Committee will continue to assist the Commission in giving proper publicity to the facts obtained by the survey and in framing bills for presentation to the Legislature."

Hine's Photographs of Life and Labor

An exhibition of photographs by Lewis W. Hine was on public view at the Civic Club, New York City, from October 27th to

November 3rd. Mr. Hine's long experience with the Survey, the National Child Labor Committee and recently with the American Red Cross in Europe make his title for the exhibition, "An Interpretation of Life and Labor in Photographs," really descriptive. The artistic quality of the pictures may be judged by the fact that they had recently been shown at the National Arts Club, where they had the distinction of being the first exhibit of photographs ever shown there.

Beginning with the immigrant "On the Threshold," at Ellis Island, the pictures follow the worker into the tenements, and into many kinds of industry, in all parts of the country. The underlying motive of Mr. Hine's work has been to interpret the worker to himself as well as to the world.

Homework—To Be or Not To Be?

We quote from the trade journal, *Women's Wear*:

"A seventh trade association has been added to the list of members of the Associated Homework Industries of New York striving to prevent the abolition of homework in the State. . . . The list of members of the Associated Homework Industries now consists of the Associated Flower and Fancy Feather Manufacturers, the Hand Embroiderers' Association, the Children's Dress Manufacturers' Association, the Veiling Association of New York, the Passementerie and Trimming Manufacturers' Association, and the Ladies' Neckwear Association. . . . All the humanitarian causes for objection to homework have been removed, the members of the body maintain, and a study of the conditions now existing in the homes where work is done will show that all the charges of unsanitary conditions, child labor, etc., made by those striving to abolish homework are unfounded and unjust, they say."

There's an article on homework in the present issue of *The American Child*. Better read it, and see if you agree with the views of the Associated Home Industries. Better read, also, Miss Emma Duke's study of "Home Work," reprinted from the *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*. Copies may be obtained from the National Child Labor Committee.

How A Law Works

In Maine the legislature passed a law in January, 1919, providing that no child under 15 might be employed for hire while schools were in session. Maine is not a great child-employing state, but there were at that time 1,058 children between 14 and 16, working in all gainful occupations with permits, and the following September there were 1,545 children at work. Since the schools opened that month, however, and the law was for the first time effective, the number was immediately reduced to 862 who actually held work permits in the month of October. The law had put 683 children back in school.

Uncle Sam's Investment in Childhood

A preliminary statement of internal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1920, issued by the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, contains the information that "approximately $90,000 was expended for enforcing the provisions of the child-labor act," while taxes collected under this act amounted to $2,380.20. A loss to the government of $87,619.80, but an incalculable profit to the country.

Child-Caring Information Bureau

The Bureau for Exchange of Information among Child-helping Organizations has plans under way for the reorganization of its work under the directorship of Mr. C. C. Carstens, who comes to it after fourteen years of service as Secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. This reorganization has been made possible by a grant from the Commonwealth Fund for the development of a field service to the constituent agencies of the Bureau which include sixty-eight child-caring and child-placing agencies, children's protective agencies and public departments for child care.

The Bureau originated at an informal conference held in connection with the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Baltimore, in 1915. It was organized for the purpose of improving inter-society service, and for the exchange among members

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of publicity material and information concerning policies, standards, methods of work, and other matters of general interest.

Ever since its organization the Bureau has hoped to develop a field service but until now funds for this have not been available. Many of the constituent agencies have been conscious of deficiencies in their work and have grown up in response to local needs during a period when principles and methods of child care have been to a large extent in the making. The result is that the greatest divergence in methods exists even among agencies doing similar work and little attempt has been made to compare methods or results. It will be the aim of the reorganized Bureau eventually to bring about comparable methods of recording essential information in order that the experience of the various agencies may be made available for the benefit of others; to encourage more thorough case work, uniform terminology and methods, and to develop a child-caring technique. Mr. Carstens expects to take up his full duties as Director of the Bureau on January 1, 1921.

Child Welfare in Connecticut

Due to the efforts of the Connecticut Child Welfare Association and certain interested individuals, the last session (1919) of the Connecticut Legislature enacted legislation creating a Commission on Child Welfare. The bill included no specific appropriation of funds to the Commission; its members were to serve without pay, but the Commission was permitted to incur such expenses as might be approved by the State Board of Control. The duties of the Commission on Child Welfare as imposed by law may best be presented by direct quotations from the act creating the Commission. The Commission is "to study and investigate the laws, conditions and practice of this and other states and countries relating to dependent, neglected, defective and delinquent children and the entire question of child welfare, and report the results of its investigation to the next session of the general assembly. Said Commission shall embody in its report a proposed code of laws, which shall include a revision of the provisions of the general statutes relating to children, with such changes and additions as it may deem advisable."

The Commission organized in the summer of 1919. Committees were formed subdividing the general group into smaller sections for the consideration of various aspects of the field of child welfare. A chairman, Dean W. P. Ladd of Berkeley Divinity Schools, was elected. Professor H. P. Fairchild, of New York University, was appointed executive secretary.

At the present time, the following pieces of work are being carried on or have been completed in the State of Connecticut by the Child Welfare Commission:

(*a*) Case studies of children placed in family homes by public and private agencies.

(*b*) A survey of all child-caring institutions.

(*c*) A study of care of children under four by town authorities.

(*d*) A study of court treatment of children and juvenile probation.

(*e*) A review of the public provision for defective children.

(*f*) Some very special case studies.

The object of these studies is of course two-fold, namely to demonstrate the need for revision in present legislation and to point out the lines along which remedial legislation is necessary. To facilitate the legislative work, the office staff has worked over very thoroughly the present legislation of Connecticut and has studied legislation of a similar nature in many other states. Further, some work has been accomplished in the way of legislative revision without the necessity for a correlative field study, as, for instance, on measures for children born out of wedlock.

Hoover and the Constitution

Herbert C. Hoover is one person, at least, who believes that if national regulation of child employment is not at present constitutional, the Constitution needs amending once more. Before the American Child Hygiene Association in St. Louis, October 11, he said:

"Up to the present the federal government has not been able to deal comprehensively with the subject of child labor. The original child labor law was declared unconstitutional. The present

federal child labor law imposes a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of any factory, mine or quarry employing children under 14 or 16 years. The federal government is incapable of making provision against other employment, and thus the great mass of children employed in street trades and various blind-alley occupations goes on unhindered. It appears to me absolutely critical that we should have such Constitutional amendment as permits the federal government to take direct action on this question, for so long as certain states are so backward in their social development that they will sacrifice their children to industrial advantage, it is not only unfair to the other states, but it is poisoning the springs of the nation at their source."

Mr. Hoover in this address gave his idea of "a program for American children," basing his whole discussion upon the principle that "the nation as a whole, has the obligation of such measures toward its children as a whole as will yield to them an equal opportunity at their start in life." He touched upon health, nutrition, housing, labor and education in relation to children and said in closing, "If we could grapple with the whole child situation for one generation, our public health, our economic efficiency, the moral character, sanity and stability of our people would advance three generations in one."

Juvenile Courts in North Carolina

Readers of *The American Child* will be interested in the following excerpts from the Bulletin of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, of which Roland F. Beasley is the executive officer. The North Carolina Juvenile Court Law follows almost exactly the wording of the measure recommended by the National Child Labor Committee in its report on child welfare in that state.

"The office of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare has compiled the figures of juvenile court work in the State embracing the period from the time the law went into effect last year to July 1, 1920. While the law went into effect on the adjournment of the Legislature of 1919, no county superintendents of public welfare were appointed till July, August and September. Since these officials are the probation officers of the juvenile courts, little

work could be done until these officials were appointed and received some preliminary instruction in their work.

"At the Summer Institute for County Superintendents, held for six weeks at the University this summer, juvenile court work made a large part of the program, and two days each week were given to the students in actual field work in nearby localities.

"During the present year the Supreme Court of the State has handed down a most able and illuminating opinion written by Judge Hoke, upholding the Juvenile Court Law.

"The special session of the legislature passed an act permitting the towns of over 25,000 population to combine with the county in maintaining a juvenile court for town and county with a judge unconnected with any other court.

"Figures for the first year's work have not been obtainable with perfect accuracy, but there are enough to show that 4,404 children received the protection or discipline of the juvenile courts and the county superintendents of public welfare up to July 1, 1920. Of these children about one-third were colored and two-thirds white. Of these 2,640 were actually in court in person, and their records so entered on the 'Juvenile Record'—not a criminal record—while 1,764 cases were adjusted out of court."

"School Week" To Be Observed

"School Week" will be observed throughout the nation the week of December 5–11, as the Commissioner of Education is designating the first full week in December as "School Week," and is requesting the governors and the chief school officers of the several States and Territories to take such action as may be necessary to cause the people to use this week in such way as will most effectively disseminate among the people accurate information in regard to the conditions and needs of the schools, enhance appreciation of the value of education, and create such interest as will result in better opportunities for education, and larger appropriations for schools of all kinds and grades.

The Commissioner of Education suggests that during this week the public press should give more attention, and a larger amount of space to educational topics than usual, and that on

Sunday, December 5, ministers should use one or more of their church services for emphasizing the importance of education. Friday afternoon and evening of "School Week" has been designated as the date on which community meetings in the interest of education should be held at all schoolhouses, both in city and country, for the purpose of discussing the needs of the schools of the several communities, the means of meeting these needs, and of remedying conditions.

Don't forget Child Labor Day!—January 23, 1921 for churches; January 22 for synagogues, and January 24 for schools, colleges and clubs.

It comes at the end of National Thrift Week, and we plan to emphasize the relation of child labor to national thrift—the waste of child labor to the nation in health, education, efficiency and happiness. Pamphlets and special information for use in observing the Day will be distributed.

Will you see that it is observed in your community?

Write us for further information.

The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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Contributors to this Issue

Emma Duke, formerly director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. Went to the Pacific Coast to study child welfare conditions for the National Child Labor Committee in October, 1919. She spent twelve months gathering material through the Imperial and Sacramento Valleys and was assisted in this work by Miss Fanny A. Smith of Boston. Miss Duke is now undertaking some special work in connection with statistical material gathered by Henry Street Settlement.

Lucile Eaves, director, Research Department, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Mary G. Schonberg, formerly factory inspector assigned to tenement homework under the New York State Industrial Commission. Mrs. Schonberg is now secretary of the Child Welfare Division of the Women's City Club.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
of the
NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1920

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

LEGISLATION

Eleven state legislatures met in regular session in 1920, and in addition special sessions were called in a number of states. From the standpoint of our work the most important legislative change was in Kentucky.

Kentucky

At the request of the Kentucky State Board of Health and the Child Labor Association in 1919, we made a study of child-welfare conditions in that state. The Committee recommended a program of legislation in which the most important features were:

1. Creation of a Children's Code Commission to coordinate and standardize all laws relating to children.
2. Increased appropriations for the State Board of Health for various purposes, including organization of county health units.
3. Taking the offices of state superintendent of public instruction and county superintendents of schools out of partisan politics.
4. Standardization of child labor and compulsory education laws.
5. Establishment of a Department of Labor in the state government.
6. Establishment of a state department for handling public welfare work.
7. Various improvements in the juvenile court situation.

The legislature, at the session of 1920, took action on a large part of this program. A publicity campaign was carried on and two members of the Committee's staff assisted in drawing up bills and getting them passed.

1. The governor appointed a Children's Code Commission as authorized by statute and the Commission is now at work. This was the main recommendation of the Committee and likely to be the most far-reaching in results.
2. The total appropriation for the state health work was more than doubled, and a bureau established to promote county organization.
3. Resolutions were passed as a step toward amending the constitution in such a way that the offices of state superintendent of public instruction and county school superintendent can be taken out of party politics.
4. The child labor and compulsory education laws were improved in several important respects.
5. A Board of Charities and Correction was created. There had been none before.
6. A Domestic Relations Court for Louisville was created.

Alabama

In addition to the legislative achievements in Kentucky, perhaps the most encouraging advance occurred in Alabama. Following the establishment of the Child Welfare Department provided by the Alabama Legislature in 1919, and efficiently organized by Mrs. L. B. Bush, formerly of this staff, a bill was introduced at the special session of the legislature providing for an increase of the annual appropriation from $12,500 to $30,000. This bill was enacted without change and will enable the Department still further to develop the agencies for child welfare recommended in our report.

Other States

Legislation was enacted in the following states:

Louisiana

Makes provision for mother's pensions.

Massachusetts

Prohibits the operation, cleaning or repairing of freight elevators by children under 16 years.

Mississippi

Compulsory school attendance is made state-wide, (except that districts may, by their own vote, be exempted); increases the required school term from 60 to 80 days a year.

New York

Creates a children's code commission to revise and standardize the laws of the state which relate to children, and report back to the legislature; extends medical inspection provisions to include children employed in mercantile establishments.

Virginia

Provides an 8-hour day for children under 16 years in canneries, factories, mercantile establishments, etc.

We regret to record the following unfavorable legislative changes:

Delaware

At a special session the new school code was unfortunately weakened by reducing the required school attendance from 180 to 120 days a year.

Maryland

Permits non-resident minors to appear in theatrical performances with travelling companies in the City of Baltimore; and amends the work permit provisions to permit boys over 14 years of age who are mentally retarded to obtain temporary work permits.

Virginia

Permits children 12 years of age to work in canneries when schools are not in session, and to work in errand and delivery service.

INVESTIGATION

In most of the states above referred to the Committee provided one or more of its field staff to study conditions and advise on desirable legislative improvements. The principal field investigation during the year, however, was in Tennessee. The Committee received an invitation from Governor Roberts, the five state departments of health, labor, schools, charities and agriculture,

the University of Tennessee, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, and other local agencies in the State and a guaranty of $7,000 toward covering the expenses of the investigation. Eight members of the staff spent approximately four months each in the field assembling material and at the close of this fiscal year the report is in the printer's hands. The co-operation of the state departments and interested citizens has been extremely gratifying and we have reason to believe that at the next session of the legislature important changes will be made, especially in the interest of better education and health standards and in better protection for working children.

FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

The test case against the Federal Child Labor Taxing measure involving its constitutionality entitled The Atherton Mills appellant, v. Eugene T. Johnston et al., 124 October Term, 1920, was argued and taken under advisement by the United States Supreme Court, December 10, 1919. No decision has yet been announced.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Fifteenth Annual Conference was held in connection with the National Conference of Social Work at New Orleans, April 15, 1920. The topic announced was "The National Child Labor Committee at Work" and at the three sessions addresses were given by members of the staff describing their actual experiences in the field. A report of the Conference was published in the August issue of *The American Child.*

While sessions were not as many as in former years it was felt that the opportunity of presenting our work before members of the National Conference more than compensated and it has been decided to hold our next annual meeting in connection with the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee, June, 1921.

OFFICIAL MEETINGS

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Corporation was held at the office of the Committee, Room 415, 105 East 22nd Street,

New York City, at four-thirty Tuesday afternoon, November 18, 1919. The following Trustees were elected for a term of five years to succeed themselves: Jane Addams, Henry Bruère, Francis G. Caffey, William E. Harmon. During the year four new names were added to the Board of Trustees: R. J. Caldwell, Charles H. Frazier, Mrs. Agnes Brown Leach and Henry W. Thurston.

Three meetings of the Board have been held during the year: November 18, 1919, December 8, 1919, and June 9, 1920.

CO-OPERATION

The Committee has continued its intimate co-operation with the Child Health Organization of America giving office and clerical help, banking its funds and issuing all vouchers for the payment of accounts. The work of the Child Health Organization has developed with remarkable rapidity and it is apparent that in the near future it will be found wise for the Organization to take over its financial records and administer its own business affairs.

This will not however, be a step in the direction of separation as during the year a closer affiliation has been made not only with the Child Health Organization but with the American Child Hygiene Association, Amercian Red Cross, National Organization for Public Health Nursing and National Tuberculosis Association in the formation of the Council for Co-ordinating Child Health Activities. The Red Cross has generously offered to finance the work for the first year and Mr. Courtney Dinwiddie has been selected as Director of the work of the Council. One of the first activities to be undertaken will be a three or five year child health demonstration in some city of approximately 25,000 population—the demonstration to be carried on something after the manner of the Framingham (Mass.) work.

During the year the National Child Labor Committee has been called in conference with the following:

1. American Country Life Association.
2. Representatives of social welfare organizations invited by a special committee appointed by the National Conference of Social Work. This Conference met in Washington on October 1st, and after extended discussion adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The need for greater efficiency, economy and better co-ordination of the work of national social agencies and associations is apparent and urgent, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the national social agencies composing the National Information Bureau and such others, public and private, as are willing, meet for conference periodically to report and study their activities and services with the prospect of dividing into functional groups for more intensive study, if desirable, and that the Executive Committee of the National Information Bureau be asked to draft and within four months submit to the first conference, for discussion, a simple plan of procedure for such conferences, and

"*Resolved*, That national organizations which are members of the National Information Bureau, and such others as are willing, be invited to record with the National Information Bureau the places in which they are now working, and to notify the National Information Bureau periodically of the new places entered.

"Such organizations are urged, if practicable, to describe briefly the work carried on in each place where they have an office.

"This recommendation is intended to apply to national federated associations and government agencies so far as it may be practicable."

3. The Interchurch World Movement. The compiled material on surveys of country life covering some nine hundred counties on America is doomed to destruction unless various social welfare organizations interested in country life make use of it. Dr. Brenner, Director, has invited us to furnish some clerical help for compiling material on such topics as relate directly to our work and to make them available for our own publication with the co-operation of the General Missions Board which has succeeded the Interchurch World Movement. Steps looking to the utilization of this material are being taken as the fiscal year closes.

In the direction of co-operation, mention should also be made of overtures to our office by various city financial federations inquiring whether a lump appropriation from their budget in lieu of our city membership campaigns would be acceptable. A contribution of $1,750 has actually been made by the Cleveland Community Fund. Detroit, Rochester, Cincinnati, St. Paul, Minneapolis are among other cities contemplating a similar arrangement.

PUBLICITY

Four issues of *The American Child* were published, also ten leaflets and ten pamphlets, including revised editions and re-

prints of articles in *The American Child.* In addition, there were several publications of varied character, the most important being the volume on "Child Welfare in Kentucky," the report of an inquiry conducted by the Committee for the Kentucky Child Labor Association and the State Board of Health. The report contains 122 pages and an edition of 1,300 copies has been printed. The total number of pages in all publications was 9,178,600, an increase of 3,868,340 over 1918-19.

We have sent out 63 news stories and editorial articles. A member of the publicity staff conducted field publicity in Kentucky following the study made by the Committee and just preceding the meeting of the legislature. Besides distribution of press stories this work involved numerous interviews and conferences with editors and other citizens throughout the state. A similar campaign will be conducted in Tennessee.

In accordance with our yearly custom Child Labor Day was observed on Sunday, January 25th in Churches, and on January 24th and 26th in synagogues, schools and clubs. Special stories urging its observance were sent to 674 periodicals and 1,125 newspapers. Requests for special articles and printed material indicated that the day was observed in many communities.

Books, magazines, pamphlets, clippings on child labor and related subjects have been added to the library, and this material is available at our office for ready reference to representatives of organizations, students and others.

The material distributed during the year shows 2,625 pamphlets sent out for exhibits, lectures, etc., and 37,372 separate pamphlets sent to individuals, making a total of 39,997. These went to every state in the Union and in addition 411 publications were sent to foreign countries. A complete file of our magazine, *The American Child*, formerly *The Child Labor Bulletin*, was requested for the University of Louvain and the Argentine Embassy.

MEMBERSHIP

The following table presents a comparison of memberships with the report for the preceding year:

	Sixteenth Year		Fifteenth Year	
Renewing Donors	68	$13.302.02	71	$14,237.21
New Donors	32	5,625.00	24	2,855.00
	100	$18,927.02	95	$17,092.21
Renewing Sustaining Members	545	$14,870.50	521	$14,474.90
New Sustaining Members	470	10,541.73	108	3,344.34
	1,015	$25,412.23	629	$17,819.24
Renewing Subscribing Members	237	$2,516.50		
New Subscribing Members	148	1,557.00		
	385	$4,073.50		
Renewing Contributing Members	3,424	$21,254.34	3,527	$23,122.82
New Contributing Members	1,798	$10,893.05	1,158	7,177.57
	5,222	$32,147.39	4,685	$30,300.39
Renewing Associate Members	4,067	$8,677.62	3,978	$8,438.17
New Associate Members	3,427	7,150.92	2,731	5,894.55
	7,494	$15,828.54	6,709	$14,332.72
Renewing Contributors	328	$325.50	378	$376.15
New Contributors	388	350.95	284	260.75
	716	$676.45	662	$636.90
Grand Total	14,932	$97,065.13	12,780	$80,181.46

This record shows that the increase in the number of members and contributors over last year is 2,152. The money subscribed was $16,883.67, more than in the Fifteenth Year. 8,669 members, or 67.8% of last year's enrollment renewed their subscriptions during the Sixteenth Year, contributing $60,946.48. This is 62.7% of the year's income. 6,263 new members and contributors enrolled during the year, contributing $36,118.65. The lapsed members were addressed four times during the year and six special letters were sent to special small lists. Altogether ten letters, costing $1,772.90 were mailed. Results: 1,716 renewals and new members and $8,647.95.

In the interest of these membership increases the Membership Secretary and assistants travelled and presented the work of the Committee in various cities in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia.

The Membership Department has continued its policy of conducting local membership campaigns in various cities—a policy which must probably be maintained unless extensive arrangements can be made with city financial federations. Our exhibit material has been used and Constance D'Arcy Mackay's Pageant "Children of Sunshine and Shadow" successfully produced. Membership campaigns were held in: St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, Minnesota; Evanston, Illinois; and Des Moines, Iowa. Receipts from these totalled, $26,047.20. Special meetings have been held at Mount Vernon, White Plains, Scarsdale, Riverdale and Spuyten Duyvil, New York and at Rockville Centre, L. I., the pageant being presented in four of these places. The total results were, $472.00. College campaigns were conducted at Vassar, Adelphi, Hunter, Barnard and at Packer Institute. The exhibit material was shown at Washington, D. C., Des Moines, Iowa, Colorado Springs, Colorado, and New Orleans, Louisiana, with the result of $778.25. These amounts include some renewals as well as new members which accounts for a variation from the tabulated report on new members.

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year Ended September 30, 1920

Certified by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants

Debits

Cash on Deposit, October 1, 1919			$13,212.21
Receipts:			
Subscriptions		$97,409.03	
Sales of Publications		415.85	
Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (completing $10,000.00)		5,000.00	
Interest:			
United States Victory Loan Notes	$135.70		
Bank Balances	120.25		
		255.95	
			103,080.83
Total Debits			$116,293.04

Total Debits		$116,293.04

Credits

EXPENSES:			
Administrative Salaries		$12,000.00	
Clerical Salaries		21,758.40	
Investigations	$39,369.18		
Less Collections from Local State Organizations	12,205.90		
		27.163.28	
Drafting and Supporting Legislation		3,000.00	
Publicity		11,155.04	
Exhibits	$2,997.91		
Less Collections from Local State Organizations	222.24		
		2,775.67	
Printing		13,771.83	
Postage		4,588.43	
Rent		1,920.00	
Traveling		2,769.10	
Stationery and Office Supplies		1,695.30	
Telephone and Telegraph		720.29	
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor		345.57	
Accrued Interest and Expenses in Purchase of United States Victory Loan Notes		38.75	
Miscellaneous		599.47	
Total		$104.301.13	
INVESTMENT—$5,000.00 UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN NOTES		4,895.00	
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES		1,106.44	
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR		381.07	
Total Credits			110,683.64
CASH ON DEPOSIT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920			$5,609.40

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the Year Ended September 30, 1920

INCOME:			
Subscriptions:			
Collected During the Year	$97,409.03		
Collected but Unearned at Beginning of the Year	6,351.50		
Total		$103.760.53	
Less Collected but Unearned at End of the Year	6,543.50		
Earned During the Year		$97,217.03	
Sales of Publications		415.85	
Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (completing $10,000.00)		5,000.00	
Interest:			
United States Victory Loan Notes	$476.07		
Bank Balances	120.25		
		596.32	
Total			$103,229.20
EXPENSES:			
Administrative Salaries		$12,000.00	
Clerical Salaries		21,910.50	
Investigations		27,386.62	
Drafting and Supporting Legislation		3,000.00	
Publicity		11,204.45	
Exhibits		2,775.67	
Printing		15,674.83	
Postage		4,688.52	
Rent		1,920.00	
Traveling		2,769.10	
Stationery and Office Supplies		1,773.61	
Telephone and Telegraph		737.49	
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor		345.57	
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures		276.09	
Miscellaneous		615.03	
Total			107,077.48
DEFICIT FOR THE YEAR			$3,848.28
SURPLUS, OCTOBER 1, 1919			12,982.59
SURPLUS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920			$9,134.31

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

September 30, 1920

Assets

Cash on Deposit, per Exhibit "C"		$5,609.40
United States Victory Loan Notes, Par Value $10,000.00		9,895.00
Accrued Interest on United States Victory Loan Notes		376.00
Furniture and Fixtures	$2,760.93	
Less Reserve for Depreciation	577.63	
		2,183.30
Exhibit Paraphernalia		150.00
Total		$18,213.70

Liabilities

Accounts Payable	$2,535.89
Unearned Portion of Subscriptions Collected	6,543.50
Surplus, per Exhibit "B"	9,134.31
Total	$18,213.70

ADDRESSES

State	Mr. Lovejoy	Mr. Swift	Miss Eschenbrenner	Miss Ellis	Total
Alabama	4	0	0	0	4
Connecticut	1	0	0	0	1
District of Columbia	1	0	0	1	2
Florida	1	0	0	0	1
Georgia	7	0	0	0	7
Illinois	4	1	1	0	6
Kentucky	0	4	0	3	7
Louisiana	5	2	2	1	10
Maine	0	1	0	0	1
Massachusetts	6	0	0	0	6
Michigan	4	0	0	0	4
Minnesota	2	0	119	0	121
Missouri	2	0	0	0	2
New Jersey	3	0	0	0	3
New York	26	0	1	0	27
North Carolina	1	0	0	0	1
Ohio	5	0	0	0	5
Oklahoma	1	0	0	0	1
Pennsylvania	4	0	0	0	4
Rhode Island	1	0	0	0	1
South Carolina	1	0	0	0	1
Tennessee	2	1	0	5	8
Texas	16	0	0	0	16
Virginia	1	0	0	0	1
West Virginia	3	0	0	0	3
Wisconsin	1	0	0	0	1
Canada	3	0	0	0	3
Total	105	9	123	10	247

CONFERENCES ATTENDED

District of Columbia	1
Florida	2
Illinois	1
Kentucky	2
Louisiana	3
Maine	1
Massachusetts	1
New York	9
Pennsylvania	1
Tennessee	8
Texas	2
Total	31

TRAVEL

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy	33,777
Wiley H. Swift	14,005
Josephine J. Eschenbrenner	7,436
Raymond G. Fuller	12,500
Harold H. Mitchell	10,000
Mabel Brown Ellis	8,982
Gertrude Folks	8,500
Mrs. L. B. Bush	6,000
Total	101,200

Others on the staff have travelled approximately 24,000 miles.

The past year has been in some respects the most gratifying in the history of the Committee. While legislative achievements have not been as many or as striking as in some former years and in a few instances backward steps have been taken, the public response to our appeal based on the general protection of American children has exceeded our anticipation.

The advances in travel, printing, salaries and other costs account for the increased expenditure of funds noted in the financial report. It is hoped that with the large number of legislatures meeting in the coming year and the closer association of our organization with others interested in child protection, even more work may be accomplished without any substantial increase in the total budget.

The Secretary desires to express appreciation of the faithfulness and enthusiasm of the staff members, and of the patience and consideration given to all questions of policy by the members of the Board of Trustees. We believe the principles and standards of the Committee make a definite contribution to the development of an intelligent and efficient American citizenship and confidently solicit from our members and the public a continuance of their support in order to hasten the day when every child in America shall have a chance to learn and to grow.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

ONE THOUSAND INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS SUFFERED BY MASSACHUSETTS CHILDREN*

LUCILE EAVES

Records of a thousand accidents to wage-earning children 14 and 15 years of age were copied and tabulated by students in the class in Social Inquiry of the School of Social Work of Simmons College. Although the majority of these accidents caused trivial injuries like those commonly suffered by active children while in their homes or on the playgrounds, there were 62 cases of permanent mutilations and six of the accidents were fatal. Is it possible to throw further safeguards about the children who are forced at an early age to become wage-earners, or must we conclude that factories cannot be made safe for children, and unite in urging our legislators to accept the new minimum standard which forbids the industrial employment of children whose age is less than sixteen?† Massachusetts legislators have been willing to adopt all measures short of this absolute prohibition of employment which promised protection for the children who go to work before they have reached their sixteenth birthdays.

Dangerous occupations have been specified in which it is

* These cases had been reported to the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board in accordance with the requirements of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Mr. Edwin C. Mulready, the former Massachusetts Commissioner of Labor, had all accidents to children investigated by the factory inspectors. He permitted us to make use of their reports in order to organize information which might be used in accident-prevention activities.

† The recent conferences on *Standards of Child Welfare* held under the direction of the Federal Children's Bureau adopted certain "Minimum Standards for Children Entering Employment," among which was the following: "An age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation, except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods."—Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, p. 433.

unlawful to use the labor of juvenile workers.* When a child applies for a work certificate, he must bring with him a statement signed by his prospective employer which gives "the character of the specific† employment" for which the child is engaged, and pledges the observance of the laws regulating the use of child labor. The statutes provide also for a medical examination which shall determine the child's physical fitness for the work proposed, but recent investigations prove that there are but few Massachusetts

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* Dangerous trades forbidden for children under 16 are:
Circular or band saws, wood shapers, wood jointers, planers; picker machines, or machines used in picking wool, cotton, hair or other material; paper lace machines, leather burnishing machines; job or cylinder printing presses operated by power other than foot power; stamping machines used in sheet metal and tinware or in paper or leather manufacturing, or in washer and nut factories; metal or paper cutting machines, corner staying machines in paper box factories; corrugating rolls such as are used in corrugated paper or in roofing or washboard factories; steam boilers, dough brakes, or cracker machinery of any description; wire or iron straightening or drawing machinery, rolling mill machinery; power punches or shears, washing or grinding or mixing machinery; calender rolls in paper and rubber manufacturing or other heavy rolls driven by power; laundering machinery; dangerous electrical machinery or appliances; adjusting or assisting to adjust any hazardous belt to any machinery; oiling or cleaning hazardous machinery; near hazardous or unguarded belts, machinery or gearing in motion; on scaffolding; heavy work in the building trades; stripping, sorting, manufacturing or packing tobacco; in any tunnel or elevator; public bowling alley or pool and billiard room.

Those forbidden for all juveniles less than 18 years of age are:
Blast furnaces; hoisting machines; oiling or cleaning hazardous machinery in motion; polishing or buffing wheels; switch tending; gate tending; or track repairing; work as a brakeman, fireman, engineer, motorman or conductor upon a railroad or railway; work as a fireman or engineer upon any boat or vessel; operating motor vehicles of any description; establishments where gunpowder, nitroglycerin, dynamite or other explosive is manufactured; the manufacture of white or yellow phosphorus or phosphorus matches; elevators running faster than one hundred feet per minute.

† This word was added to the law in 1919 (Chap. 62, General Acts of 1919). State officials found this strengthening of the law necessary to its satisfactory enforcement. The need was revealed with special force in connection with the efforts to prevent children working in hazardous employments.

communities in which this examination is sufficiently thorough to insure protection from tasks unsuited to the child's physical condition.*

The failure of these precautions to accomplish their purpose is shown by statistics of the Industrial Accident Board which present data for all accidents which were sufficiently serious to prevent the completion of the day or shift in which the worker was engaged at the time of his mishap. In the fiscal year July 1, 1916 to June 30, 1917, working children under 16 years of age met with 1,416 accidents, 7 of which were fatal. In the following year there were 1,730 accidents and 5 fatalities.† The rates for deaths and permanent total disability were less for the accidents to children, but a larger proportion of their accidents resulted in permanent partial disability than was true of those reported for workers whose ages were 16 years and over.‡

Variations by Sexes in the Numbers and Seriousness of Industrial Accidents

The boys met with accidents more frequently than the girls; they were the victims in three-fourths of the thousand cases studied. Their injuries were more serious as they suffered from over five-sixths§ of the accidents causing permanent disability and from all of those causing death. These differences between the sexes cannot be explained by the excess of boys in this age group of the wage-earning population, as the most recent occupation census of Massachusetts reported that only 58% of the workers less than 16 years of age were males.

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* See the circular *Health Certificates for Working Children*, issued by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, June, 1920.

† Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board, 1916–1917, pp. 213–220; 1917–1918, pp. 120–121. It must be remembered that these were years when the war industries were attracting an unusual number of new minor employees.

‡ Based on the Report of the Industrial Accident Board for 1917–1918. Data are not available for calculating rates based on the numbers employed. The Massachusetts Census of 1915 reports conditions which were radically different from those of 1916–1918.

§ The exact figures are: boys, 757; girls, 243.

The Massachusetts reports indicate that males of all age groups are more subject to industrial accidents than females. Over 90% of all the accidents tabulated in the reports of the Industrial Accident Board happened to males. This is 20% more than their share, as the most recent statistics of manufactures show that they constitute about 70% of the industrial workers of the state, and 72% of the total wage-earning population are males. How can we explain these great differences between the sexes in accident liabilities? Is there a general tendency to assign the more hazardous occupations to men? Are women more cautious and less disposed to take unnecessary risks?

Causes of Accidents to Children

Over half, or 579, of the thousand accidents were due directly to the wage-earning employments of the children, and the probability of meeting with many of the other injuries are much greater for the working child than for one who spends his time in school or at home. Inability to control perfectly the machinery or tools with which they worked was the chief cause of the accidents reported, as 216 of the injuries were inflicted by the machines and 110 by the hand tools with which the children were at work. Thus nearly one-third of the accidents were due to the difficulties which children experience in gaining control over the new powers given by machinery and tools. The awkwardness of children of the adolescent age, particularly of the boys, proves that they have not learned to direct perfectly the activities of their own bodies, so their inability to control fully any additional force is not surprising.

Children never should be employed in the operation of cutting and punching machines, even when only foot power is used. There were 51 cases of accidental starting of the machines or failure to withdraw hands before the knife, puncher or staple descended. The usual results were the amputation of the tips of one or more fingers or the crushing of the hand.

The following are typical examples of this class of accidents to working children:

> Jacob ——— cut off the end of his left index finger when his hand slipped under the knife of a machine with which he was cutting scrap leather.

Arthur ——— was cutting cardboard when his fingers slipped under the knife. He lost the second and third fingers of his left hand.

The left index finger of Henry ——— was amputated by the stapling machine which he operated.

Lack of skill in operating a caramel cutter cost Dorothy ——— a finger.

Irving's foot slipped while he was operating a wire cutting machine. He lost the end of a finger.

Children frequently pinch their fingers in the foot-power printing presses, but these accidents are less serious as they rarely result in the permanent mutilations inflicted by cutting and punching machines.

One hundred and sixty-seven of the thousand accidents were due to the children being caught in gears, belting or shafts. Many of these mishaps can be charged to the natural irresponsibility of childhood rather than to the failure of the employer to install all possible safety devices. However, there were some instances of serious neglect, as for example two cases where clothing was caught on uncovered shafts located under work tables. It seems probable that some of the gears which seized upon fingers or clothing could have been covered, and certainly the dangerous machinery near passage-ways or drinking fountains should be enclosed; but the frequency with which the accidents to the children were charged to "playing and fooling," "carelessness" or deliberate violation of safety regulations raises questions about the possibility of making factories safe places of employment for immature and irresponsible young people. The following are examples of the grim consequences of the indulgence of childish folly while employed in modern industry:

Someone attracted B's attention while he was lifting a gear guard. The right index finger was caught and amputated to the first joint. When asked why he lifted the cover, he replied, "Just for fun."

A boy attempted to saw a piece of wood which he wished to use to stir his glue pot. His thumb was badly lacerated.

Another boy lost the second and third fingers of his right hand when he pushed them under the guard while operating foot-power shears.

After the machinery had started, Charles ——— felt of a bearing to see whether it was hot. His right hand was caught and injured.

An errand boy had his right hand forefinger crushed as a result of a foolish effort to see how near he could put his finger to a moving lathe.

This same spirit of foolish adventure prompted another boy to uncover some gears and see how close he could put his fingers to them without being caught. He lost his left middle finger.

There were several accidents which occurred when boys gratified a childish desire to experiment with machinery operated by older, more experienced workers.

State and factory regulations did not prevent disastrous attempts to oil or clean moving machinery, and a number of accidents were due to the efforts of the children to adjust irregularities without stopping the machinery.

It is evident that these youthful, irresponsible workers cannot be protected unless they are carefully warned of the dangers and unless their more mature associates are trained to a watchful enforcement of protective regulations. Hence the need of safety committees whose activities may be stimulated by encouraging competition in the promotion of low accident rates and by the offering of rewards for suggestions which will increase safety. The Division of Industrial Safety is urging the establishment of such committees in Massachusetts factories. The inspectors reported 43 of these committees in the establishments where the 1,000 accidents to children occurred, but this item was not covered in many reports, so it seems probable that the number should be larger.

Continuous inspection of the clothing of operatives of dangerous machinery would be a part of the services of such safety committees. Loose ends of hair, dresses, aprons or shirt sleeves were often the means by which the children were drawn into the machinery. One girl was scalped and two others painfully injured by having their hair wound into the machinery, and there were cases where cuffs or tattered sleeves were caught when girls or boys were reaching over or under moving shafts or gears. Girls need close headdresses and rational short-sleeved, bloomer or over-all factory costumes, so that there will be no unnecessary risks of being caught in moving machinery.

Accidents connected with the operation of elevators and hoists caused another group of serious injuries. Elevators have a peculiar fascination for boys, as 50 of the 56 elevator accident cases reported were boys and only 6 were girls. There were a few instances where the injured boys were operating the elevators in violation of the law forbidding their employment for such services, but the majority of the accidents were due to the reckless or careless actions of

youthful passengers. It is evident that secure gates or doors should enclose all elevators to which children are admitted. The following examples are characteristic illustrations of the risks which are often taken by venturesome boys:

> One boy's neck was broken when he attempted, during the excitement of the peace celebration, to board a moving elevator.
>
> A cash boy in a department store was killed instantly by being dropped from the seventh floor where he had been carried by an elevator with which he was tampering.
>
> Several other boys met with serious accidents while jumping on or off moving elevators.

Care Given Injured Children

Facilities for caring for injured workers are provided quite generally in Massachusetts industrial establishments, as there were medical chests on hand for treating 775 of the 1,000 cases studied.* Special, first aid rooms were found in 118 establishments. It is probable that no serious injuries were without medical care as the inspectors reported in 819 cases that the children had been given medical treatment.

Difficulties in Enforcing the Laws Protecting Working Children

Exceptionally vigorous efforts are being made by Massachusetts officials for the promotion of the safety of working children. Yet the inspectors reported that 89 of the injured children were working without the certificates required by law and 125 were employed in occupations other than those specified on their employment certificates. Thus over two hundred, or twenty per cent of the children were employed without the legal safeguards which the state provides. The elaborate regulations† by which the Massachusetts legislators have sought to palliate the evils which must result from the employment of children who have not reached years of discretion are

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* Some of the accidents occurred in establishments not subject to the law which requires these chests.

† Two circulars issued recently by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries give complete instructions for the certification of working children.

extremely difficult to enforce. When a boy or girl enters a busy factory or workshop there is a natural tendency to fill spare time with any tasks for which help is needed, and a bright child is eager to experiment with the interesting machinery operated by fellow workers. Thorough instruction about the dangers peculiar to local industrial establishments should be given in continuation and other vocational classes. Employers disclaimed responsibility for many accidents because the children were doing work which was not required of them or were violating regulations forbidding the removal of covers to gears or the cleaning of moving machinery. It is impossible to determine whether these employers had discharged fully the duty of instructing and warning their young workers, but any parent must realize that no amount of warning will convert boys of this age into thoughtful, cautious workers. There remain two ways of protecting such children from premature mutilation: their adult fellow-workers may be trained to watchful care in preventing unnecessary risks, or the children may be kept in the safe haven of the schoolroom until more responsible years are reached.

TABLE No. 1

CAUSES OF INJURIES SUFFERED BY CHILDREN FOURTEEN AND FIFTEEN YEARS OLD EMPLOYED IN MASSACHUSETTS INDUSTRIES, 1918–1919

CAUSE	CHILDREN WHOSE INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS WERE DUE TO SPECIFIED CAUSE-			
	Total		Number of	
	Number	Per cent.	Boys	Girls
All causes	1000	100.0	757	243
Contact with industrial machinery	413	41.3	297	116
Operating power machinery peculiar to industry	119	11.9	83	36
Caught while near machinery	92	9.2	63	29
Injured by contact with gears	49	4.9	33	16
Caught in belting	26	2.6	22	4
Operating punching and cutting machines	51	5.1	40	11
Cut by saws	8	.8	5	3
Caught in sewing machines	2	.2	1	1
Unexpected starting of machinery	20	2.0	18	2
Accidental starting of machines	4	.4	4	—
Cleaning moving machinery	10	1.0	7	3
Operating printing presses	24	2.4	13	11
Emery wheels	8	.8	8	—
Elevators and hoists	56	5.6	50	6
Hand labor	110	11.0	89	21
Falls	107	10.7	77	30
Automobiles	20	2.0	19	1
Other vehicles	10	1.0	8	2
Infections of slight wounds	47	4.7	25	22
Strain while lifting	4	.4	4	—
Nails and wires	27	2.7	20	7
Burns	17	1.7	12	5
Glass	7	.7	5	2
Falling material	48	4.8	40	8
Illness	3	.3	3	—
Playing and fooling	59	5.9	51	8
Various forms of carelessness	28	2.8	25	3
Miscellaneous, not otherwise classified	44	4.4	32	12

TABLE No. 2

NATURE OF THE INJURIES FROM INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS TO CHILDREN FOURTEEN AND FIFTEEN YEARS OLD, 1918–1919

INJURY	CHILDREN WHO RECEIVED THE INJURY SPECIFIED			
	Total		Number of	
	Number	Per cent.	Boys	Girls
All injuries	1000	100.0	757	243
INJURIES CAUSING TEMPORARY INCAPACITY	924	92.4	691	233
Bruises, Abrasions, Crushes and Lacerations	307	30.7	230	77
Arms or hands	219	21.9	161	58
Legs or feet	54	5.4	46	8
Head or scalp	8	.8	4	4
Torso	26	2.6	19	7
Superficial Cuts or Scratches	399	39.9	294	105
Arms or hands	343	34.3	251	92
Legs or feet	22	2.2	17	5
Head or scalp	31	3.1	23	8
Torso	3	.3	3	—
Strains, Sprains and Dislocations	64	6.4	46	18
Arms or hands	40	4.0	31	9
Legs or feet	13	1.3	7	6
Head or scalp	1	.1	—	1
Torso	10	1.0	8	2
Burns	18	1.8	15	3
Arms or hands	11	1.1	9	2
Legs or feet	4	.4	3	1
Head or scalp	2	.2	2	—
Torso	1	.1	1	—
Infections	49	4.9	33	16
Arms or hands	46	4.6	30	16
Legs or feet	1	.1	1	—
Head or scalp	2	.2	2	—
Fractures	31	3.1	29	2
Arms or hands	22	2.2	21	1
Legs or feet	5	.5	5	—
Head	3	.3	2	1
Torso	1	.1	1	—
Splinters	15	1.5	10	5
Arms or hands	14	1.4	9	5
Legs or feet	1	.1	1	—

TABLE No. 2—*Continued*

Injury	Children Who Received the Injury Specified			
	Total		Number of	
	Number	Per cent.	Boys	Girls
Injuries Causing Temporary Incapacity—*C't'd*				
Miscellaneous	41	4.1	34	7
Arms or hands	13	1.3	10	3
Legs or feet	6	.6	6	—
Head	5	.5	2	3
Torso	2	.2	2	—
Eyes	14	1.4	13	1
Illness (fit)	1	.1	1	—
Permanent Injuries	62	6.2	52	10
Right arm or hand	5	.5	3	2
Arm (not specified)	1	.1	1	—
One finger, right hand	14	1.4	10	4
Two or more fingers (not specified)	9	.9	6	3
One finger (not specified)	5	.5	5	—
Two or more fingers, right hand	4	.4	4	—
Hand (not specified)	1	.1	1	—
One finger, left hand	11	1.1	11	—
Left arm or hand	9	.9	8	1
Two or more fingers, left hand	2	.2	2	—
Right eye	1	.1	1	—
Injuries Resulting in Death	6	.6	6	—
No Data	8	.8	8	—

Don't forget Child Labor Day!—January 23, 1921 for churches; January 22 for synagogues, and January 24 for schools, colleges and clubs.

It comes at the end of National Thrift Week, and we plan to emphasize the relation of child labor to national thrift—the waste of child labor to the nation in health, education, efficiency and happiness. Pamphlets and special information for use in observing the Day will be distributed.

Will you see that it is observed in your community?

Write us for further information.

CALIFORNIA THE GOLDEN

EMMA DUKE

Imperial Valley

There are golden opportunities in the golden state—yes, many of them, but not for little children, at least not for all of those in the great Imperial Valley. The Valley is a strange place. All over the state its wonder stories are told. Less than twenty years ago it was a waste,—the home of the cactus and the horned toad. A year and two years would sometimes pass without a drop of rainfall. Windstorms shifted mountains of sand, and people buried in the desert sands were lost forever. Then the ingenuity of man transformed the valley into a garden spot. The mighty Colorado flowed many miles east and south of the Valley, but by one of the most spectacular engineering feats of history its course was changed and today the Valley is a network of canals and irrigation ditches. The land was made as fertile as the valley of the Nile.

Then settlers poured in, hungry for wealth. People rushed in to make fortunes, and then ran away with them. But some stayed and erected homes, churches, schools, theatres, banks,—real cities dotted the valley. Tent cities, too, sprang up, and settlers threw up hastily constructed shacks and lived in them for years. The towns now contain a number of attractive homes, but many of these shacks still remain. Unattractive, flimsy dwellings among people from whom higher standards would be expected are so common, indeed, that it is not surprising the large ranches do not construct permanent homes for workers even when the operator owns the land.

Living Conditions

The records of the Immigration and Housing Commission show that less than ten years ago ranchers would bring in hordes of laborers and not assume any responsibility in housing them, merely permitting them to sleep on the grounds of the ranch.

Families would travel with their own blankets and tie them and their other possessions to the fence posts during the day to avoid losing them in the frequent wind storms. Sanitary provisions for laborers were unheard of. Since then, the Immigration and Housing Commission has been created, and in the short period of its existence it has been able to revolutionize living conditions in labor camps. It has certain requirements concerning tents or houses, bunks or beds, screening, bathing facilities, garbage disposal, etc., and demands that pure drinking water be furnished.

Some workers, however, carry their own tents, which they set up

AN OCCUPIED DWELLING—THE HOME OF COTTON PICKERS

on the land of their employer or any empty space they see, preferably near an irrigation ditch. Tula weed or straw houses, while not common, and while generally used by Mexicans, are sometimes lived in by Americans. Stakes are driven into the ground, crossed, bamboo crosspieces put on top, and the weed laid on. These, as well as the tents, are floorless. Tent houses, however, frequently have floors. In some cases straw or weed houses are included in the accommodations furnished in certain labor camps. Frequently, when the workers build their own houses of straw, they build them with only three sides. Sometimes a one-roomed straw house with an area of fifteen or twenty feet will serve as a home for an entire family, which not only cooks but sleeps in the same room. Regular cook stoves are

sometimes installed in these straw houses, and the chimney pipe put through the straw roof. At other times a fireplace of mud is built up from the dirt floor, and the cooking done over that. Why these houses do not burn down is a mystery. A third method is to cook entirely out of doors, with or without a stove.

Tales are still told of fortunes to be made in the Valley. Cotton is king there and rich ranchers, absentee landlords and others exploit it. Labor comes in continuously from other parts of California, from Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico. The climate is an inducement, for people can and do live practically

A Six-Family Tent House

out of doors throughout the year. Automobiles laden with tents and families—"gasoline gypsies" as they are called, bring their contingent; people come in wagons, by train and by foot; and by far the greater number of all the groups come to pick cotton. Tents are pitched along the road, near the irrigation ditches. Drinking and wash water is dipped from the ditches, settled, and, sometimes, filtered. Inquiries as to whether or not drinking water is boiled invariably brings laughter.

In order to take care of the constantly flowing stream of travelers, some of the cities have allowed tents to be pitched in the city parks. In the park of El Centro a family of four was found, living in a 12 x 14 tent. Their automobile filled half the tent. Cots crowded almost

A Type of House Very Common in the Valley

all of the remainder, except a little space near the door which was filled with boxes of food. The cook stove and washtub were used outside. Drinking water was secured by the campers from city hydrants along the edge of the sidewalk. The woman who lived in the tent just referred to said that they had to walk two and a half blocks to a toilet; and in the mornings the camp dwellers may be seen carrying buckets of waste to this toilet.

Another camp dweller whose home was in Oregon, came into Imperial Valley in her Studebaker touring car, with her two boys. She said she did not like steady home life, and the children could work in the cotton fields. All of them slept in the tent, which also housed the automobile. The mother is strenuous and healthy, and works her children because she likes gypsy life. When the cotton picking season is over she said they would probably go to look for work elsewhere in the state.

Three-year-old Cotton Pickers

Cotton fields are everywhere in the Valley. They are crowded with pickers and among them "children thick as bees," as one school principal said. All kinds of children pick—even those as young as three years! Five-year-old children pick steadily all day. "Why not?" one hears, "Most of them are Mexicans." Perhaps. But many white American children are among them—pure American

stock, who have gradually moved from the Carolinas, Tennessee, and other southern states into Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and on into the Imperial Valley. One hears much in the Valley of "Texicans"—a scornful term other pickers use in speaking of those who come from the Lone Star State. Much illiteracy it is true exists among the adult white Texas pickers, but education was uncommon among those from other states as well.

Violation of Child Labor Laws Well Known

Officials of the Immigration and Housing Commission, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Industrial Welfare Commission, the State Board of Control, and the Board of Education of California were interviewed prior to visiting the Valley. All knew of the violations of the child labor and school attendance laws, and agreed that they were more seriously violated in the Imperial Valley than elsewhere in the state. The work of all these state agencies touches the life of the child in some way, and all are alive to the problem and eager to deal with it more adequately. Deputies of the Bureau of Labor Statistics have made brief reports on child labor in the Valley. More comprehensive accounts have been rendered by the State Board of Education and the State Immigration and Housing Commission. The Commission last named estimates that between twenty-five hundred and three

Four Years Old—Picks From Sun-up to Sunset

thousand children under sixteen years of age are out of school picking cotton. It bases its estimate upon the records of its own inspectors who secured the information directly from the ranches while making their camp inspections. The estimate would seem to be reliable. At least it can hardly be an overstatement of the number of children out of school, for ranchers would not be likely to report conditions as worse than they actually are.

California Laws Concerning Child Labor and School Attendance

Are such conditions permissible? May people keep children out of school to work them? Have we no laws about it? Yes, we have very positive laws in California. The child labor law prohibits the employment of children under 16 years of age in agricultural, horticultural, or viticultural, or domestic work, as well as in other work, while the public schools are in session. This law provides that employers working children contrary to its provisions shall, upon conviction, be fined $50 to $200, or imprisoned 60 days, or both, for each offense. Section 8 of the law stipulates that the Bureau of Labor Statistics shall enforce the provisions of the act.

In addition, the California school law requires that every child between the ages of 8 and 16 years not otherwise specially

All Out of School to Pick Cotton

Isn't He Worth Educating?

exempted under the law, shall be required to attend school for the full time during which the public schools shall be in session.

"Warnings" Instead of Enforcement

It would seem, then, that children in California under the age of 16 not certified as physically or mentally defective, or not granted an age and schooling certificate, would be assured of an education by the state. Some employers, however, have found that they are not interferred with, not fined, not imprisoned, when they work children during the public school sessions. This is particularly true in agricultural sections. And the sore spot of the entire state in this respect is Imperial Valley.

Enforcement of school attendance laws lies in the hands of local trustees, but when these very trustees are often cotton ranchers, and themselves workers of little children, it is with difficulty that they can be persuaded to vote bonds for education. Will they co-operate with a local attendance officer to the extent of telephoning: "Come up to my ranch and make these children stop picking cotton and go to school?"

The State Board of Education has a half-time attendance officer, a woman who is also an agent of the Industrial Welfare Commission. The Commission has power to fix minimum wages, and maximum hours, and conditions of labor for women and minors,

and its power might possibly be invoked to protect the children of California. But this should not be necessary when Section 8 of the child labor law reads:

> "The bureau of labor statistics shall enforce the provisions of this act. The commissioner, his deputies and agents, shall have all the powers and authority of sheriffs or other peace officers, to make arrests for violations of the provisions of this act, and to serve any process or notice throughout the state."

5-Year-Old Girl Picks From Sun-up to Dark

The issue is squarely before the Commissioner of Labor. In 1919, when an inspector was making investigations into conditions in the Valley, local school people said they "pleaded with the inspector to enforce the law." But he merely continued to warn the employers; and his visit was said to have created less than a ripple on the child labor situation. Without action by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it is almost a hopeless proposition to get the children into school.

Citizens in the various school districts of the Valley say that rich ranchers and others allow children to stay out of school to work because they know they will remain unmolested by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and that gentle "warnings" will be substituted for enforcement of the law. The present child labor law has been in effect since July, 1919. But even under the old law such child labor as now exists in the Imperial Valley was illegal.

A seesaw condition exists in the Valley, for if the child labor laws were enforced the school attendance laws could be enforced, and if the school attendance laws were enforced the child labor laws could be enforced. But the enforcement of the child labor laws is of first importance. More difficulties stand in the way of enforcing school attendance laws, as the responsibility does not lie upon the state, or even upon the county as a whole, but on local school districts.

Imperial County covers a couple of thousand square miles, and has only one attendance officer, at a small salary. This officer is neither provided with a conveyance for getting about to do her work, nor allowed one penny for traveling expenses. She goes to certain centers at her own expense, and informs teachers, parents, school children and employers concerning the child labor and school attendance laws. She has brought some cases into court. But when parents come into the justice's office and represent that they are just keeping the child out of school for a little while, to do a little picking, and refer to their own poverty, the judge, their neighbor and friend perhaps, is not generally disposed to do more than find them guilty and suspend sentence. In other words, it seldom costs anything to violate the school attendance laws in the community.

Then again, when it comes to fighting influential employers, local rural authorities are apt to be timid. In January, 1920, an attendance officer arrested the manager of a ranch which happened to be owned by an important newspaper. He had violated the child labor law. There was no question as to his guilt. The justice before whom the case was heard in February had known nothing of child labor laws until this case was brought before him. The justice of the peace himself, outside of his court duties, was an employee of a citizen of the Valley, and his employer was indignant "that Mr. X., the nicest man around here," should be arrested. He said: "Why of course Mr. X. did not break any laws. It is ridiculous." The justice, however, in spite of this indignation of his own employer, was forced by the overwhelming evidence to find the man guilty. Sentence was then suspended.

Several of the towns in the Valley have their own attendance officers who work within the limits of their own school district. In these urban or semi-urban areas, wholesale violation of the school

attendance laws generally does not exist. But the attendance officer in one of these places said that while he would not arrest the white ranchers for working children he would "nip a Hindoo" whenever he could.

Another attendance officer in one of the Valley towns said, "The complaint I make is that other districts do not support us. We are the only school district which is strict. We battle to enforce the law, other school districts don't, and workers here go away and work their children in other localities. If the Commissioner of Labor Statistics would only enforce the child labor law uniformly, the school authorities could handle the children." This officer also spoke of the futility of suspending sentence when people were "caught red-handed". "The only way these people know you mean business is to take their money for a fine, or put them in the lockup."

Another school principal said, "I am absolutely sure that employers know they are evading the state law. I have talked to them and told them so, and they say, 'Well, we have to have people to pick the cotton.' I think the state should get after such employers, and trace the matter right down. These employers are like children, just boys grown up, and will keep on breaking the law until somebody catches them. They say it will ruin their business if children do not work. I suppose they mean by that they will have to raise the wages of adults."

One teacher thinks that if the authorities would take just one case to court in her school district "this would fix things. There are lots of children picking cotton instead of going to school. The children say: 'We are not going to school; we don't have to.' And, as a matter of fact, they don't. Nobody makes them. When children are in the field picking cotton they don't need any kind of clothes, and when one tries to get them into school their excuse is they have no clothes. One family which lived in a tent moved its tent on to the boundary line of two school districts thinking they could thus evade the law."

One school trustee, in conversation concerning the enforcement of the school attendance laws, said "We don't want to enforce those laws. We don't want to bring a lot of dirty, lousy little Mexicans into our schools." Some schools in the Imperial Valley, however, have put in shower baths! This is no doubt very much better Americanization work than shutting out a group of children who are

growing up in the community, some of whom will later on vote on the school facilities of the children of Americans.

Another teacher said that some children who attended school begin to pick cotton *before* daylight. "They come to school at nine and then go back into the fields the minute school closes, to toil until sundown or until they can no longer see, and then they expect me to cram education into them."

One teacher called attention to the fact that her school was practically in the midst of a cotton field, and said: "While we are having lessons, we can hear children talking and singing outside

THEIR MOTHER SAYS, "TEACHERS DON'T KNOW NOTHIN'," SO SHE DOES NOT SEND HER BOYS TO SCHOOL

as they pick cotton." Later on she said that there was no child labor in that district, and that all the children came to school. When asked about the children "in the cotton field outside", she said: "Oh, but those were just Mexicans." It was found that children in her own school also picked during the cotton season, and in order that they could be worked to better advantage by the cotton owners, she had secured permission from the school authorities to change the school session and have one session from eight to one thirty instead of two sessions between nine and three o'clock. She said: "In that way the children can pick all afternoon till dark. They have all been brought up to work, but I talk to them about going to bed early."

Difficulties in Enforcing the Law

A difficulty in the way of the enforcement of the school laws is the migratory character of the families. Many of them are in the county only from October to March, and are apt to move from one school district to another as they change jobs. "We have been thinking of providing portable school houses" said a principal. "For example, one ranch has about fifteen miles of cotton, and shifts its camps from place to place. The school house could go along too. It would be in the center of population, as it were, even if the center shifted. The county superintendent is ready to go ahead and back this kind of project."

The constantly increasing growth of the Valley is another element that adds to the complexity of its school problems. A school trustee said: "When this building was put up in 1916, we were censured for erecting a building which was more than we would need for ten years. But although we are now only four years old, we are crowded, and ready to build six additional rooms. There is also to be additional building in the heart of the district where the negroes and Mexicans live, and they ought to attend this school. The Mexicans are the last people on earth to ask for charity—they will starve before they will ask for food—but they work their children."

All school people are not alive to the importance of educational work among parents, and one principal told a father that he could not grant him formal permission to work his children, but if he

Ages 8, 7 and 5—All Pick Cotton Regularly—No Schooling

did not mind running the risk of fine and imprisonment, he could take the responsibility himself. The principal did not report this case to the attendance officer, or take any action to get the children to school, and the father was willing to assume the risk, and found he could safely do so.

Although the majority of the pickers are Mexicans, the majority of the owners and operators of cotton ranches are white Americans. Some negroes, however, are owners or lessees, and Hindus also take leases, although they do not own the cotton lands. The Hindus and negroes employ not only Mexican children and negroes, but American white children. Some of the whites who work their children in cotton fields owned and operated by negroes, explained that they kept them out of school to pick cotton so that they might not sit next to negro children in the school-room. The negroes of the Valley seem more anxious to send their children to school than the American whites.

The Attitude of the Parents

The sentiments of the parents of children kept out of school to pick cotton vary considerably. One man whose children were working with him in the fields said: "Please, lady, don't send them to school; let them pick a while longer. I ain't got my new auto

Teacher Says Brightest Boy in School. He Wants to Attend School, But His Father Doesn't Want to Work

paid for yet." He had recently sold his Ford, and was now buying a Cadillac. This was one of the "gasoline-gypsy" families.

Another man, working in the same field with his children, said his earnings alone were not sufficient for the support of his family, and added, "If the working people would only stand together it wouldn't be no need to work children so as to live." This man was a Texan of "pure American stock" who could neither read nor write.

"Hope's you gets 'em out of the cotton field, lady," said one picker, "If they'd only had them laws when I was a kid I'd know sumpin today."

"No," said the white American mother of a couple of Carolinian lads who can each pick a hundred and fifty pounds a day, "They ain't never been to school, nor me nor their pappy nor their grand dads and grand moms. We's always been pickers,"—and she spat her tobacco over the field in an expert fashion.

Other parents expressed such sentiments as these: "I didn't get any education and I got along, and I can do as I please with my children. We came here just because we could pick cotton, and we've been pickin' it and nobody caught us till now."

The county attendance officer found several Texan families working their children in the cotton fields. She told them they must send their children to school. They sent a delegation to tell her, "These children *must* work in the fields." They had a meeting, hired a lawyer from Texas, and asked him if there wasn't some way they could get around the law and work their children. He told them he would like to find some way of getting around the law, and arrange that they could work their children, but that in California they could not do so without danger of being fined or imprisoned. They said, "Very well, we will go back to Texas." Nineteen families went back, fearing the seldomly invoked law. One of the men had claimed to be a preacher, and the attendance officer pointed out to him the inconsistency between his preaching and violating the law. He immediately stopped working his children, and said, "It is a sacrifice, because I am not paid enough to support my family, but I am obeying the law."

Parents who deliberately and cruelly work their children to indulge their own indolence are rare. One white father, however, was brought into court recently, who had been warned time and

AGE 5—A REGULAR FULL TIME WORKER

again by the teacher to send his children to school. His reply had been "I haven't got 'em in school and what's more I'm not goin' to. If an officer can make me send 'em, I'll have to send 'em, but if he can't make me, I won't." In the court it developed that the man spent his time in pool rooms and sometimes passed bad checks. The judge imposed a fine of $15. The man's children were most attractive and intelligent, and he had a long record of exploiting them. They and their mother were employed by a negro ranchman. The father had seldom worked up to the time his children were stopped working and sent to school.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COTTON RANCHERS

One man with large cotton holdings is conspicuous as a speaker on the subject of Americanization and patriotism,—and also as a violator of child labor laws. He was asked if he knew that children are not allowed to work in the cotton fields when school is in session, and he said that he did. He was then asked what he considered the best way to enforce the child labor laws, and replied that employers should be arrested and fined. When it was stated that he might have to pay a great many fines, he said, "No," that he had "quit employing children." He was reminded that he had been working them the preceding week. He replied that the boundaries of the school district had been changed, that the school buses had not come for a few days, and so, he added, "I thought I might as well

work them." He claimed he had stopped working them regularly a month previous, and added, "I do not believe in letting them work. The law is against it, but these people do not want their children to go to school if they can get work out of them." When asked if he employed anyone to look after the welfare of the people in his labor camp, he replied, "I do not know of any one coming into Imperial Valley to look after the welfare of people. All come to get a little profit." Asked if he had ever thought of hiring a teacher to look after the needs of the children living on his own land, he replied, "It might be better, but I don't want to hire a teacher, the county should do it—and it would not be fair to come here and enforce the law on me and let other people work children." It will be noted he had previously said that he had stopped working children the month before.

Another cotton rancher said: "I would be a fool to obey the child labor laws and pay the wages I should have to pay for adult help when all the adjoining ranches work children. I'd be at a disadvantage; I could not compete with them." This man said further that it was not to the advantage of the rancher to have the children go to school because "Our labor troubles are with the educated ones. The educated man gets a following and comes and dictates terms." In spite of this opinion, he added that if the other ranchers would "stick together" in an agreement not to work children, he would not work them.

Another Section of Camp for Cotton Pickers

The statement of one rancher—"We get around the law by hiring the parents, and they work the children, we don't"—explains the method of many. But as a matter of fact they don't "get around it." The law states that they are liable for employing children or suffering or permitting them to be employed "directly or indirectly through the instrumentality of one or more contractors or other third persons, or any parent or guardian of a minor."

A subtle bit of propaganda is conveyed in the inquiry, "Why enforce the child labor laws when school facilities are inadequate?" and the statement, "If they are not at school they might as well be at work." Ranchers express the fear that unless the child is picking cotton in the field he will be idle, but principals and school teachers have found that school facilities can easily be adapted, that out-of-door classes can be used when schools are full, and that when the necessity for larger school buildings has been demonstrated, larger buildings are usually available the next year.

The supposed scarcity of labor is another argument for the employment of children. In the past, even when official estimates of unemployed men were large, it used to be given out that "labor is scarce." But labor agents of the Valley who were interviewed during the 1919-1920 cotton picking season claimed that labor was not at all scarce then, and that they could not place all the available pickers. At the time ranchers also admitted they had more help than they needed and turned people away every day. Some stated that skilled farm hands were scarce, but not cotton pickers.

Ranchers protest, just as cotton mill owners of the South used to, that "if we won't let the children work the families will go elsewhere." But when the federal law forced children out of the southern mills this protest was proven unfounded. And it is shown to be unfounded in California when interests which do not use child labor, such as general ranches and construction camps, are filled with families whose wives and children do not work.

Working Conditions

Cotton picking in itself is not hard work. The slightest pulling of the cotton separates it from the stalk, and children do not have to bend over. It is very hot, however, in Imperial Valley; the sun

beats down with great intensity, and there is considerable glare. The cotton pickers usually have a long loose strap of material at the opening of their bag. This is slipped over the child's head, and he straddles the big bag. The opening is about at his waist, and he simply reaches out, picks the cotton, and puts it in the bag, which drags behind him. One little girl said: "I cannot carry any more than seventeen pounds." An older boy, who described himself as "ambitious" said, "I sometimes pick till I have over a hundred pounds. I pick as long as I can pull the bag, and until it gets so heavy I can't walk straight." Another boy said: "Us kids most always drag from forty to fifty pounds of cotton before we take it to be weighed. Three of us pick. I'm twelve years old and my bag is twelve feet long. I can drag nearly a hundred pounds. My sister is ten years old, and her bag is eight feet long. My little brother is seven, and his bag is five feet long."

The children themselves, when questioned, said they would rather go to school than pick cotton. One twelve-year-old boy said: "Yes, I'd rather be in school. I haven't been this year. Sometimes we go in winter when there isn't anything else to do."

Ranchers, of course, wish to get their cotton picked as cheaply as possible, and to round up their labor forces with little trouble. Big ranches generally maintain their own labor camps. Some pickers, however, carry their own tents, and pitch them anywhere, and get work on any ranch. One rancher said: "The most we are paying for picking this year is $2.25 a hundred pounds. We may have to pay $2.50 or $2.75 before we get through. The longer the work lasts, the less they can pick, that is, it takes them longer to pick one hundred pounds later in the season than in the beginning, and there is more work to do than in the first picking. On the first picking we have men average as much as 150 pounds a day. Some of the little Mexican boys are as strong and active as a man and can pick as much."

Earnings of the Cotton Pickers

Children are not paid a lower piece-rate than adults, but the piece-rate paid to adults is no better than a child's wage. Strong, able-bodied men are seldom seen picking cotton. Labor agents

admit that men cannot make enough by cotton picking to support their families. In the Valley one hears from townspeople that "pickers make ten dollars a day, working the whole family." With that qualification, the statement is ambiguous. One Mexican in the Imperial Valley was the father of 33 children—"about 13 or 14 living," he said. If they all worked at cotton-picking, they would doubtless together make over ten dollars a day.

Nor can one judge cotton pickers' probable earnings by the rate per pound. The first picking is paid for at from $1.50 to $1.75 and sometimes $2.00 per hundred pounds. Later pickings require more labor and time to secure a given amount, and the same man, woman or child may pick fewer pounds, and earn less at $3.00 a hundred pounds than he could make at the first picking at half the rate. One "weighboss" stated that young boys of from 10 to 16 could sometimes pick more than adults. He pointed out a boy of 12, who, he said, had picked as much as one hundred and eighty-six pounds in one day at the rate of two cents a pound. Hours, he said, were from "sun-up to dark." He took out of his pockets a few wage accounts, which showed the following:

> Father and two children aged 12 and 8, $97.67 in two weeks, or an average of $16.27 per person per week.
>
> Father, mother and four children, $121.68 in two weeks, or an average of $10.14 per person per week.
>
> Father, mother and two children, $126.91 in two weeks, or an average of $15.86 per person per week.

Hours

The hours at this work are very taxing, for cotton is picked until dark. Sometimes the mother stops a little in advance of that time to go home to cook the night meal. The families usually go to bed just as soon as this is finished. They are tired, and must be ready for work at sun-up. This type of living does not suggest a free childhood, full of the opportunity for health and growth that a rich nation should feel is due to its children.

It has been suggested that the school vacations be so arranged as not to conflict with ranch or farm work, and hence release a number of children for the ranchers or farmers. But even if it were desirable to subordinate schooling to cotton picking, it does not appear practicable in Imperial County. In June, July and August

the heat is intense, and during these months there is a great exodus of population from the Valley on the part of the people who can afford to get away, particularly women and children. It would not be practicable to send the children over the heated, dusty roads to school. But even if the children could be sent to the schools, teachers would not be available, because scarcely any of them will spend a summer in the Valley.

School Facilities

Although the laws state that children must attend school, one cannot ignore actual conditions, and hence the charges of inadequate school facilities must be considered. Visits were therefore made to some of the schools which the county attendance officer said were handicapped for lack of facilities, and the following points were ascertained.

School No. 1: 1 room, 1 teacher, 47 pupils, seven grades. Seats outdoors under a shelter, where children do part of their studying. There are plenty of seats in the room, but the teacher considers it desirable to have some of the time spent outdoors.

2-roomed teacherage attached.

Drinking water dipped from ditch, settled and filtered. Two tin basins, buckets of settled water, and 3 cakes of soap scattered on a table outside the building, constitute the lavatory conveniences. No towels. Yard toilets about a hundred feet from the school.

Some children walk three miles to school. No bus facilities for these children. The teacher said, "This is probably the best location for this school from the standpoint of center of population, but it is very bare and ugly here."

Seven miles away is a ranch owned and operated by a negro minister. As provided by the school attendance law he has been granted permission to educate his children at home. He and his wife are both well-educated. Distance is one of the obstacles to sending the children to school, and the other is the race prejudice to which they are subjected.

School No. 2: 1 room, 1 teacher, 8 grades, 47 seats, 42 children enrolled, 30 present day of visit. School has light and air on two sides. Attractive stucco building. No teacherage. Drinking water dipped from ditch, settled and filtered.

No attempt to make the place attractive. Ten children have left during the year but the teacher does not know why; thinks they have moved away.

School No. 3: 1 room, bare and unattractive, 4 grades, 38 desks, and 4 little extra chairs. 9 children in attendance.

This school has no maps or globe. The teacher states, "the children memorize geographical information." This school has two blackened pieces of cardboard which, the teacher says, are so poor she cannot do good blackboard work on them. Children drink ditch water, settled and filtered.

School No. 4: 1 room, 1 teacher, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th grades, 46 seats, 32 enrolled, 23 present on day of visit.

The children use ditch water which is settled and filtered. In this section sometimes the ditches run dry, and the teacher says she tries to persuade the children to go without water rather than drink stale water.

Teacherage is provided on a cotton ranch nearby. The teacher does all her own cooking, cleaning and washing. She has high ideals concerning rural teaching as an important and useful field of work. She says the children in her school, although not of the poorest class, have absolutely no beauty or joy in their home lives. Some of them live in tents or temporary shacks with their families, who are working furiously to get rich and get away. She has pictures of pretty good grade on the school walls, and tries to brine the children and their families together in the evenings for littlg entertainments, and to do various kinds of hand work.

School No. 7: 4 school rooms in building, 1 not used. In addition, a number of seats stacked up in the hall.

In one room, 1st and 2d grades: 43 seats, 9 of which have never been unfolded; average attendance in January, 1920, was 31; 3d, 4th and 6th grades—11 children, 24 seats; 5th, 7th and 8th grades—24 enrolled, 18 in attendance, 30 seats.

All children live within two miles of the school. Drinking water is piped into the building, and individual paper envelope cups are furnished the children.

The teacher of the 5th, 7th and 8th grade room is designated principal. He says that he pays no more attention to absence than to enter "left" if a child has been absent five days. He said, "No, I never telephoned to any family to ask why children were

absent, and never reported any absence to the attendance officer, but I have told the president of the school board when children were dropped." This principal was confident that all children who had left had gone to other schools. Asked why he felt so confident, he said: "They did not dare to stay out of school, the school board looks after that," although he admitted that if the school board of his own district did it he did not know how or when; he had assumed that the children did not dare stay out.

School No. 8: A fine building of four rooms, with a large auditorium. Drinking water is piped into the building, and modern plumbing.

The prejudice against negroes is very great in this district and the Board of Trustees pays for the transportation of negro children to a school in the negro quarter of the nearby incorporated town. One of the negro families moved out of this section because such handicaps were placed upon the school attendance of negro children.

Schools in the incorporated towns are most attractive buildings. In these towns sometimes one or two old buildings may remain, but the general tendency is towards beauty in building.

In the above summary it appears that the schools visited do not bear out the sweeping charge of wholly inadequate facilities. There is some lack of school space, and a teacher shortage, but on the whole there will be enough room for children to be educated if they can be put into the schools,—now at least they do not tax the capacity of all the Valley Schools.

Need for Playgrounds

The schools, whether in the country or in the town, are invariably surrounded by large, open spaces. There is much hot sun and but few trees, little shade and practically no rain in Imperial Valley, but an interest in beautiful gardens or landscapes has not yet become widespread; all attention and energy is being put into crops that pay money. The school yards are, in most cases unattractive, sometimes quite meagre, and no other playgrounds are available for the children. There are no means of recreation other than moving pictures. It is not surprising, therefore, when recreational facilities have been neglected, that the people of the

Valley ask, what will children do out of school if they are not allowed to pick cotton One of the most important constructive pieces of work that can be done for the children of Imperial Valley will be to provide them with healthful means of recreation.

Beginnings in recreational work have been made by the schools in most of the towns, however, and in two of them shower baths and play equipment are of the finest type. But even such progressive schools have not devoted adequate attention to shade trees and beauty.

Summary—Solution of the Problem

To sum up the situation, the facts that stand out from the survey of conditions in Imperial Valley are briefly these:

A general sentiment exists that if the child labor laws were enforced the most serious obstacle to the enforcement of the school attendance laws would be removed. Propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the enforcement of child labor laws and of school attendance laws is possible, even with the present school facilities, which in certain sections of the Valley it is true are inadequate. The existing school facilities and equipment need never be made adequate if the child labor law is not enforced.

Claims of labor shortage and of excessive labor costs should not be accepted at their face value. But even the existence of a limited shortage of labor is not sufficient grounds for working children, some as young as five years, from dawn to dark, as at present.

The nomadic character of the families adds to the difficulties of enforcing the school attendance laws, but with enforcement of the child labor law a group of idle children would be a nuisance in the labor camp, and it would be to the interest of employers to advise workers of the school laws and the locality of schools, and also the school authorities whenever children were living on his place. The school authorities may be trusted to see to it that buses or other equipment will bring such children to school. The migration of families does mean a constant readjustment of curriculum, but this is inevitable in the country schools, and the teachers are trained for this type of work and are able to meet the situation.

Throughout many counties in California school attendance problems have been lessened by the use of motor buses, which transport children living at a distance. These buses are extensively used in Imperial Valley. The solution of the school problem seems to lie largely in the consolidated and union schools, the extension of the system of buses, and the use in some instances of portable schools. The boundaries of school districts have not been regarded as unchangeable. When a building in one district tends to become crowded and buildings in another district are less crowded, the County Superintendent has sometimes arranged to change the boundaries. Mothers frequently do not like to have their young children go to school on the school bus, which is usually driven by one of the larger boys or girls. The adjustment is then sometimes made by consolidating the children in the upper grades in one of the districts and letting those in the lower grades remain in their own district. The consolidated or union schools and the school buses do valiant service in Imperial Valley, and progress in these two lines can be readily made as more children are put into school.

Some of the persons concerned with the enforcement of laws promoting the welfare of the children in the state say, with much truth, that no single move can suddenly be put through to make conditions perfect and bring about a one hundred per cent school attendance and a complete enforcement of the child labor law. These things have to come more slowly, by a process of evolution. Evolutionary processes, however, in matters of this sort do not come without effort; with a "let alone" theory these matters will not right themselves of their own accord; and the most fundamental step in securing to children their educational rights and their right to a happy childhood is to prevent employers from working children in violation of the state laws. No "education" or warning of employers on these matters has, up to this time, been effective. The child labor situation in the agricultural areas of California, especially in the Imperial Valley, has admittedly grown worse, and will continue to grow worse, unless the child labor law is enforced. The law is clear. The violations are open and undenied.

TENEMENT HOMEWORK IN NEW YORK CITY*

MARY G. SCHONBERG

"Sure, we take this work home for the children to do after school and in the evening. It keeps them off the streets where they are always getting into all kinds of trouble, and it brings in a few cents, which we can use now, with everything costing so much." So spoke the mother of a family of five, all of school age, three of whom were working on snap fasteners. They were snapping the fasteners into cards, three dozen to a card. For snapping into place a great gross of these,—that is, 12 gross, or 1,728 fasteners,—they received the sum of 15 cents. As a preliminary to the card work, the good fasteners were separated from the imperfect ones, for which work no payment was made.

For years people have heard similar stories of tenement homework and homeworkers and have exclaimed that "something must be done about it." Even the manufacturer of artificial flowers, whose business is considerably dependent on homework, or the manufacturer of men's clothing or embroidered linens, who, for years, has used the homeworker in his business, has agreed that something ought to be done about it, but—"Don't introduce any legislation abolishing homework, because we will fight it tooth and nail! Aside from the fact that our business will be seriously affected, you will be depriving hundreds of workers of the means of honorable self-support, and will be causing undue hardship in many families." This last argument has always been used by opponents of any welfare legislation.

Compared to the issues involved in great world problems, perhaps the problem of tenement-house labor in New York State sinks into insignificance. But the students of this subject who have analyzed it from every angle, not only in New York State, but in

* An intensive study of tenement homework in New York City, from which these conclusions are drawn, was made by Mrs. Schonberg under the auspices of the Child Welfare Committee of the Women's City Club in 1919.

other industrial states in the Union, and in European countries as well, where, before the war, the situation was really menacing, insist that no problem is insignificant or unimportant, which involves these evils:

1. Child labor.
2. Economic exploitation.
3. Unsanitary and unhealthful conditions of labor, affecting the welfare of the worker as well as the consumer.
4. Unfair competition between home worker and factory worker, and between home workers in the same trade.
5. Total inadequacy of the law and the inspection force to properly safeguard the workers and the community.

The homes of 500 families in which homework was being done, were visited for the purposes of this study. These families lived in different parts of the city and were found engaged in working on the following articles, arranged in four groups: those worn by men, those by women, those by children, and the fourth miscellaneous:

For Men: Slippers, shirts, neckwear, pants, vests, coats, overcoats, hat bows on sweat bands, and pajamas.

For Women: Corset covers, stockings, spats, waists, smocks, dresses, aprons, neckwear, silk vests, crochet buttons, swiss embroidery, tassels, flowers, feathers, dress trimmings, gloves, snap fasteners, hat pins, hats, powder puffs and veils.

For Children: Infants' petticoats, dresses, coats, pillow slips, carriage covers, children's dresses, boys' jackets, knitted caps, and toy watches.

Miscellaneous and Household Articles: Table cloths, tags, lamp shades, night lights, flannel bags, paper bells and garlands, novelty paper caps, umbrellas, cushions, and gold and silver embroidery on uniforms.

Space does not here permit the setting forth of the details of the survey, but certain authentic data may be briefly recorded:

1. Of the 500 families studied, 93% were Italians and 7% other nationalities.
2. 52% of the workers worked less than 6 hours a day, and 48% worked more than 6 hours a day, and many of them 9 and 10 hours a day.
3. 82% of the workers earned less than 20 cents an hour, 17% earned between 20 and 50 cents an hour, and only 1%

earned more than 50 cents an hour. This 1% was composed of contractors whose exploitation of home workers is particularly vicious.

4. 47% of the workers earned $5.00 or less a week, 42% earned between $5.00 and $10.00 weekly, and about 11% earned more than $10.00 a week.

When, in connection with these figures, it is remembered that the home workers live in congested districts and in crowded "living" quarters (425 or 85% lived in four rooms or less) and that the families are usually large (82% had four or more members in the family), the gravity of the problem is apparent.

It must be remembered, too, that the great majority of home workers are mothers of families, who sandwich in their homework between their home and family duties, or, what is nearer the truth, sandwich in their family duties between times, when they drop their homework. A few of the results, therefore, are, and must, of necessity be, the neglect of the children, certainly as regards their physical well-being, uncleanliness in the home, and the nervous and physical exhaustion of the mother.

When the profits and losses are figured up, the losses are all on the side of the workers, and the gains on the side of their employers, who have been in the past, and are now, the first to protest against any radical treatment of the problem. Very recently the writer interviewed eight of the largest employers of home-workers, and their answers were almost identical.

But for the purposes of this article, we are particularly interested in this problem as it concerns the child, not only as a worker, but as a member of a family where homework is carried on.

Everyone knows that in the homes of the poor, childhood is attended by mental, moral and physical neglect, and the absence of much that makes for happiness. In the homes of the out-workers, the little children are further penalized by being compelled to turn hours of freedom, which should be devoted to healthful recreation and study, to hours of work, and little fingers and little minds are forced at tasks which tire eyes and backs and fingers, and deaden hearts and minds. While a little child might for a change enjoy slipping petals on flowers, sewing buttons on pants, making and packing night lights, snapping fasteners into place, stringing tags or pasting backs on paper bells or garlands, the steady application

of the little fingers and the little minds turns the play into work, and the momentary pleasure into an odious task.

Figures regarding the number of child home workers are nearly always inaccurate, because they fail to convey to the mind of the reader the fact that they were only obtained incidental to a general investigation of the problem, and are, therefore, a considerable underestimate of the number actually employed. An accurate count could only be obtained by an investigation conducted during after-school and evening hours.

Always the children are part of the situation, even if they are not actually at work, "finishing, repairing, altering, or manufacturing articles." They are used to carry goods between the home and the factory, and it is a very common sight to see them, both boys and girls, carrying large bundles of clothing, either pants or coats, or heavy boxes of feathers or flowers, before or after school hours.

After the children have delivered the finished work to the factory or have brought the new work home, there is still much to do. There are dishes to wash and floors to sweep, clothes to wash, the meal to cook, the little babies to take care of and other numerous domestic duties which even grown-ups find irksome and tedious. Of course, the children do all these things very imperfectly. The investigator can report numbers of cases where rooms were swept with windows closed, with the dust and dirt flying in all directions over the clothing lying on the floor, or over flowers or other homework lying scattered on tables or chairs.

Of course, homework affects the physical health of the child and weakens his power of resistance.* The mental health is affected as well. The records show that many children engaged regularly in homework attend school irregularly, are dull when they do attend, and frequently fail in their term's work. As far as the law pertaining to child labor is concerned, it is completely nullified where child homeworkers are concerned because there can be no supervision of their hours of labor or their night work, and certainly the cleanliness and sanitation of the ordinary home in which this

* In 1910, in a comparative study between two groups of families, one non-homeworking and one homeworking, it was established that there was a considerably larger number of deaths of children in the second group than in the first.

work is done is far inferior to that of any fairly supervised factory.

What other conclusion can we come to, than that the story of the child in the tenements is one long tale of neglect, undernourishment and overwork, and that every argument directed against child labor in the factory applies even more strongly to child labor in the home, because of the peculiarly adverse conditions under which these children work.

Of two important aspects of the problem, the competition between the factory and the home workers, and the inadequacy of the law and of the inspection force, this article cannot treat, because there is too much to be said. Regarding the second point, however, we ask you to consider these questions:

1. Is a license for tenement work a guarantee that the manufacturing or finishing is being done under clean and sanitary conditions, and that the home is free from contagious and infectious disease?
2. Is an inspection of a licensed tenement house once or twice a year sufficient to safeguard the health of the worker and the consumer?
3. Can twelve or fifteen, or even twenty-five inspectors, make adequate inspection of sixteen thousand licensed houses during a year?
4. Would any staff ever be really large enough for adequate and efficient inspection in a great city?

In view of all the facts obtained by our serious study of the subject, we have come to the conclusion that in order to acquaint the public with a situation with which they are vitally concerned, both as workers and consumers, a long campaign of education and publicity is necessary, to the end that such legislation will be enacted as will abolish altogether this iniquitous and now unnecessary phase of industry.

PLAY AND WORK IN CHILDHOOD

RAYMOND G. FULLER

People sometimes say that child idleness is as bad as child labor, or worse, while others reverse the statement. It is a futile argument. Child idleness and child labor are both bad. But it is poor logic that assumes child idleness to be the alternative to child labor, or child labor to be the alternative to child idleness. For child labor there are several substitutes:—schooling is one, play and especially supervised play is another, and children's work is a third.

There exists a rather common belief or notion that child labor is better for children than play. In the expression of this opinion the use of the term "child labor" may be avoided, but the opinion is not thereby affected. Play is often regarded as practically identical with idleness. It is regarded as a waste of time. The real waste of time is in not playing—and in going to work too soon.

Childhood is properly play-time, not work-time. By no means is a workless childhood implied, but the work of children should be children's work in amount and kind—and not child labor. Nor is a playless adulthood implied either as a fact or as a desideratum. Grown-ups play and ought to play. In a recent psychological essay Professor Patrick so defines play as to include practically all the activities of children and a large share of those of adults, such, for instance, as baseball, football, tennis, golf, polo, billiards and countless other games and sports; diversions such as travelling, hunting, fishing, yachting, motoring, flying, dancing, vacation outings, games, races, spectacles, fairs, amusements, and expositions; the theatre, opera, moving pictures, lectures and entertainments; the enjoyment of music, painting, poetry, and other arts; the daily paper, the magazine, the short story, and the novel. A difference is sometimes noted between the play of children and the recreation of adults; but adults play in response to purely and distinctly playful impulses, and children in school or at work have need and

desire for that recreation which is diversional, relaxational, recreative.

The child labor problem and the recreational problem are closely related to each other and both are important phases of the general problem of child welfare. The evil in child labor may be gauged according to several different methods of approach. We may adopt the physiological approach and regard child labor as principally a health problem. We may adopt the psychological approach and think of child labor as primarily a problem in human personality. We may adopt the sociological approach and think of it chiefly in terms of social welfare and group progress. In each case we may concentrate attention either on what child labor does to some children or on what society ought to do for all children—on the harm actually inflicted, or on opportunities denied. There is a growing tendency to emphasize the denial of opportunities. The child labor problem and the recreational problem both rest on the same conception of childhood—childhood as playtime—and this conception is shared fully by the physiologist, the psychologist and the sociologist, whose agreement on this point is not at all surprising when it is remembered that the child is a unit physical and psychical, within himself, and is, moreover, the fundamental unit of society.

The child's right to childhood means the right to childhood as play-time. It is not a right that comes to him by virtue solely of the values arising from play—the values to individual and society—but is a right by virtue of inheritance. The child's right to childhood as play-time is written in biological la s that cannot be repealed. The penalties for violation of these laws are sure and certain, and are visited upon the children, though the responsibility is not theirs, but that of parents and society. Play is a childhood necessity.

Play is natural, as natural as human nature itself. Its naturalness is due to its instinctiveness. The play impulse is innate, inborn, not acquired. William James refers it to a definite, specific play instinct. MacDougall denies that any of the many varieties of playful activity may be ascribed to an instinct of play, but says, "Nevertheless play must be reckoned among the native tendencies of the mind of high social value." Thorndike regards the activities of play as depending on a complex or combination of instincts or instinctive tendencies, all functioning more or less together,

and speaks in this connection of manipulation, facial expression, vocalization, multiform physical activity, multiform mental activity, the hunting instinct, the fighting instinct, and so on. Then he mentions "the special tendencies to hunt for hunting's sake in ways notably different from the 'real' hunt, to fight for fighting's sake in ways notably different from the 'real' fight; to fondle and pet in ways notably different from the 'real' mothering." These he speaks of as "possible instincts of play proper." The fine points of the psychological definition of play need not detain us here. There may not be a separate, irreducible play instinct, but play is instinctive, for all that, and in a sense no less true because it avoids technicalities on which the psychologists themselves are not agreed.

Play is rooted and grounded in instinct; it has an instinctive basis. We may go farther and say that while play may involve the operation of many instincts that originate also activities that are not play, nevertheless manipulation is not play, running is not play, throwing is not play, hiding is not play, fighting is not play, response to the constructive instinct is not play, nor is any combination of these activities play, without an additional element. The original source of this additional element we may call playfulness, or the play instinct, or the play impulse, or the play tendency, or the play disposition, what we will. It is only necessary to acknowledge that there is something in play that is play and nothing else, something that cannot go by any other name, and that play comes from innate playfulness for which no other instinct, or impulse, or tendency, or disposition can fully account, either by itself or in combination.

Play is from within, by congenial hereditary impulsion, but the play impulse that comes from within has to be awakened from without. Its appearance—though where it begins and mere multiform activity leaves off it is difficult to say—requires a stimulus from environment. To become full-fledged it demands a playmate—"Oh, Skin-nay! C'mon over!" Mowgli's playmates were the animals of the forest. Kinship made them play, play made them kin. Play is essentially a social instinct, in origin and manifestation. To be developed and strengthened the play instinct or tendency requires exercise, expression, and this implies opportunity in the shape of time. Actual play in its many forms and

varieties is the product of the constant inter-action between heredity and environment. Instinct, tradition, imitation of the occupations of adults, and a myriad other factors determine the forms of play, which vary with the different age-periods of childhood, with the sexes, with race and locality. In the prepubescent period play is largely individualistic in character, in early adolescence predominantly socialistic—this is the gang period of childhood. Only recently have girls begun to play and enjoy co-operative games. Team games in certain countries are almost unknown. Play thus expresses both heredity and environment; its forms are influenced by both. It is also self-expressive. It is self-developing. To the child it is experience at its richest, life at its fullest. It is the medium in which he can best grow and develop, not only physically but mentally and morally. Nature, instead of telling the child to grow and develop and instructing him in ways and means, endowed him with the play impulse. That the child shall play is important; but how he shall play then becomes equally important. Says Joseph Lee: "If you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect what he shall be, direct the form of play"—and if you want to affect what he shall not be, guard the conditions of play. This last is a negative ideal, but not negligible.

Play is natural not only because it originates in original human nature, but because it conforms at every moment of the child's life to the genetics of his growth and development. It reflects the neuro-muscular co-ordinations established at the time and establishes those that are ready to be formed. It reflects also the various instinctive tendencies (or many of them) as they ripen—and helps to ripen and strengthen them. In short, it obeys the self-finding and self-developing push within the child. It also respects the limitations of the child as regards these neuro-muscular co-ordinations and psychic motives. In free, spontaneous play no movement is made or action performed ahead of its natural and normal time—there is no unreadiness of body or of mind for that movement or that action. Free, spontaneous play is never false to nature, but always according to nature. It fosters no prematurities or precocities of physical or psychical development. Its activities, being timely, are without that defective motivation so favorable to cumulative fatigue, which in turn is favorable to deformation of

the body and to the dread diseases of personality—the various neuroses and psychoses.

Play is according to nature, then, not only as a manifestation of the play impulse, but as an expression of possessed motives and capacities and a furtherer of all the processes of growth and development. The naturalness of play gives it interest. According to Hall, interest and play are one and inseparable as body and soul. Play is never monotonous. When play loses interest it ceases to be play, and becomes work; when work loses interest it becomes drudgery. Interesting work is, to that extent, play. It is largely the interest inherent in play that makes it developmental, hygienic and educative.

Gulick traces the play interest to the phylon. "The racially old is seized by the individual with ease and joy." The motions and motives of play are racially old—they go back beyond the Aryans, they are old as humanity itself, and some are older. Says Curtis: "The motions represented in play are very ancient, the remnants of old racial activities. The nervous paths are ready formed, and consequently skill is acquired more easily and the individual is able to do more muscular work with less effort in play than he is in any other activity." Play never practices what is phyletically new.

The ancient race renews its youth in the individual, and this is play. The young are young and the old are made young. Groos avers that children are young because they play and not vice versa, and Hall adds that "men grow old because they stop playing, and not conversely, for play is, at bottom, growth, and at the top of the intellectual scale it is the eternal type of research from sheer love of truth." Naturalness, interest, spontaneity, zest, growth, self-expression, aspiration, youth—this is play and the soul of play.

Muscles, neuro-muscular co-ordinations and paths of nervous discharge that are racially old are the first, generally speaking, to develop in the individual. Childhood is the time, pre-eminently, of the fundamental muscles—those of the arms, legs, trunk—rather than the smaller, accessory muscles; the time of the co-ordinations involved in running, throwing, striking, rather than those involved in the finely adjusted movements of the fingers, for instance, these being associated with a later stage of racial history and with the higher thought processes in the individual. Over-

emphasis of the accessory muscles at the expense of the fundamental results in excessive nervous strain and fatigue. In play the fundamental muscles receive the lion's share of exercise, which is well for the child, especially since it frequently happens that in school there is premature and excessive training of the finer muscle centers and, through the detailed analysis and exact definitions so often required of young children, a violation of the natural order of brain development. The child is thus saved from nervous disaster.

Play represents the normal motor life. Away back in racial antiquity, it was a necessity of survival to run with speed, to dodge, to throw with accuracy, to strike with a club. These abilities were of prime importance to individuals and the race. Individuals who did not possess them were eliminated. The boys who liked to run, who had an instinctive desire to run, were best fitted to cope with the environment as they grew up. The love of running, dodging, throwing, striking, survives in the child of today. In that far-off time the muscular and nervous systems were perfected, and certain definite motor tendencies and co-ordinations established, that are still essential to the perfecting of the organism.

We come now to a point of extreme significance to our present inquiry into the relative merits of play and work in childhood, and because it has been so well stated by Prof. Patrick we employ his words: "There is a striking similarity between the plays of children and the sports of men on the one hand and the pursuits of primitive man on the other. This similarity is due to the fact that those mental powers upon which advancing civilization depends, especially voluntary and sustained attention, concentration, analysis, and abstraction, are undeveloped in the child and subject to rapid fatigue in the adult. Hence the child's activities and the play activities of the adult tend always to take the form of old racial pursuits." A few pages farther on he expands this idea by saying: "Those forms of mental response which are developed late in the history of the race, and late in the life of the child, that tense and strenuous activity upon which modern progress depends, the power to hold ourselves by sustained attention and sustained effort down to hard and uninteresting tasks for the sake of some ultimate end, the concentration of the mental forces upon problems of science, philosophy and invention, and the inhibition of old and un-

desirable responses,—all these bring quick and extreme fatigue, and demand rest for the corresponding parts of the brain. In sleep these higher mental processes enjoy almost complete suspension. But the exercise of these powers during the long hours of our waking day would result in speedy collapse. It is clear therefore that our daily activity must be made up quite largely of responses of the simpler type, which shall give exercise to our muscles and sense organs and invoke older and more elemental forms of mentality, and at the same time allow the higher ones to rest. Such is relaxation in all its forms, and of such consists almost wholly the life of the child. For the brain tracts associated with the above mentioned forms of mental activity are undeveloped in the child, as they are in early man, so that we may say with considerable truth not that the child *ought not* to work, but that he *can not* work."

Certainly a true work interest seldom appears before early adolescence. The child does not know what work is—even as a child laborer he does not know. His psychology is inadequate. Of course, we shall find a host of young newsboys who are having, as they suppose, the time of their lives, on the streets, but on careful analysis we shall find among them more of a perverted play interest than of a true work interest. A few may be working out of a sense of filial devotion and a few with the motive of thrift, but in the majority of cases a large part of the newsboy's small earnings is not going to his parents or into the bank, but is being spent for candy, movies and various other forms of self-indulgence and self-display. Moreover, work that is performed from filial or thrifty motives does not yield a valid and finally helpful conception of work as work. The idea of child labor as a training school for adult work is erroneous for many reasons. Work that in 99 cases out of a hundred never gets the child anywhere, work that child laborers find so disagreeable, or difficult, that they change their jobs, on the average, six, eight, or ten times a year, is poorly calculated to bring about a right *conception* of work or a right *attitude* toward work. It is only children's work, and not child labor, that can teach respect for work—a virtue that should of course be inculcated in all children.

Every instinctive tendency is manifested in play and there perfected for future use. At its various stages it is based upon the fundamental instinct feelings. We have noted that in the pre-

pubescent period play is individualistic, and in early adolescence socialistic. This is in response to definite instinctive tendencies. It may be said that the play interest depends in large part upon the expression and satisfaction of such instincts underlying play as:— the parental instinct, constructiveness, the dramatic instinct, curiosity, pugnacity, self-assertion, gregariousness, acquisitiveness, emulation, imitation. These are all manifested and developed in play, and give play much of its characteristic pleasurableness. These also are involved in pleasurable work. The pleasurableness of play is in the playing, without thought of renumeration or reward. The pleasurableness of work may be in the working, if work is sufficiently in accord with the racial inheritance of motor tendencies and capacities and instinctive motivations, and then it is play. Other work tends towards a large nervous expenditure for a small muscular result and in general toward fatigue and its attendant evils and dangers. Play, it is true, may lead to utter exhaustion, but it is accompanied throughout by interest and ended with satisfaction; it is cathartic, sanifying; and recuperation is quicker and surer. It is not apt to lead to cumulative fatigue. The effects of excessive play are easier slept off than the effects of excessive work.

Summing up the preceding discussion of play and work for children from the standpoint of racial heredity, we may say that:

1. Play has intrinsic value as an agency conducing to normal growth and development. Work possesses no such developmental value in itself.

2. Play follows the genetics of physical and psychical development, and work does not, unless carefully chosen and supervised, and even then there is danger of mistake.

3. Play fosters no physical and physiological prematurities or nervous and mental precocities. Work often does. So does school.

4. Play never practices what is phyletically new. Work often does, and is therefore inimical to development and health, both physical and psychical.

5. Play causes no over-specialization in the use of any muscle or group of muscles. Work often does. In play, one kind of activity is continued only as long as the activity is agreeable, many parts of the body are exercised in a variety

of ways, and usually no one part for very long without change In work the case is likely to be otherwise.

6. In play the parts having the most utilizable energy are freely active. In work the least available energy is often used. In play the fundamental muscles get their proper amount of activity. In work the accessory muscles are frequently over-emphasized at the expense of the fundamental and for too long a time—such work sows the seeds of chorea and produces neurasthenic symptoms in great variety.

7. No activity in play is performed with defective psychic motivation, while many activities in work are defectively motivated. This sums up the foregoing points. With play as play the child is *en rapport*; with work on the plane of adult psychology he has no common bond.

8. Play is childhood's heritage and the one means by which it can attain its full heritage of symmetry, normality and health of body and mind.

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It comes at the end of National Thrift Week, and we plan to emphasize the relation of child labor to national thrift—the waste of child labor to the nation in health, education, efficiency and happiness. Pamphlets and special information for use in observing the Day will be distributed.

Will you see that it is observed in your community?

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Too Much Statistics

The head of an Oriental town, a Mohammedan, being asked by the Government to reply to certain questions relating to his city, sent in the following paper:

Question—What is the death-rate per thousand in your city?

Answer—In my city it is the will of Allah that all must die; some died old, some young.

Question—What is the annual number of births?

Answer—We don't know, only God can say.

Question—Are the supplies of drinking water sufficient and of good quality?

Answer—From the remotest period no one has ever died of thirst.

Question—What is the general hygienic condition of your city?

Answer—Since Allah sent us Mohammed, his prophet, to purge the world with fire and sword, there has been great improvement. And now, my lamb of the West, cease your questioning, which can do no good either to you or anyone else. Man should not bother himself about matters which concern God only.—*The Lancet.*

Why Teachers' Hair Turns Gray

The following gems were discovered in examination papers of the Methodist Girls' school at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia:

When the form of a verb is changed it is called congregation.

The prime meridian is called the eternal date line.

Gibraltar is the keynote of the Mediterranean.

The masculine of spinster is bore.—*Colorado School Journal.*

The test on the examination slip read: "Write an example of the indicative, of the subjunctive, of the potential and of the exclamatory mode."

The student wrote: "I am trying to pass an examination. If I answer twenty questions I shall pass. If I answer twelve I may pass. God help me!"—*School and Home.*

Specimens of "Topsy-turvy Pronunciation"

"A colored brother was responsible for this: 'Dr. Spinks said John died from dishere final come an' get us'—meaning spinal meningitis."

"A young lady working on army personnel records asked: 'What is this auto-intoxication that so many of the army chauffeurs seem to have?' "

"A neighbor told us of his intention to plant alfalfa, adding that he should 'osculate' the soil."

"She always used a tallow candle and put it out with a 'distinguisher.' "

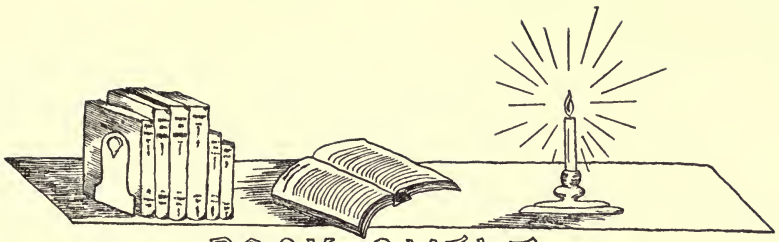
"The neighbor had been getting better, but had a 'relax.' "

"Our French professor was also an officer of the choral union. Wishing the tenors and basses to go downstairs to rehearse by themselves, he announced that 'the gentlemen would please go *bel*-ow.' "

"A colored woman told me her brother had suffered so dreadfully from a broken bone that 'they had to give him an epidemic injunction every night.' "

"A newspaper report of an accident during the performance of a child's play said: 'The child was assimilating (simulating) sleep when her dress caught fire."

"A colored porter on the Pullman said, 'That there road runs paralyzed with ours for sixty miles.' "—*The Outlook.*



THE CURRICULUM. Kenneth Richmond. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.25.

This book is full of suggestion for those who feel dissatisfied with the present education, but who, unlike extremists in educational theory, still consider that the function of the school includes conscious acquisition of knowledge and development of the power of thought as well as encouragement of "spontaneous reactions." The prospect of children "developing into thoughtful beings depends very largely upon the opportunity that is given them to think out, while they are young, the idea that knowledge is a unity and not a miscellany." This is the foundation of Mr. Richmond's suggested curriculum—one which differs from that of today not so much in content matter as in organization and method of presentation. "There should be an effective correspondence between the different subjects and methods pursued—not only a correlation of subject matter in detail, but an organized unity of plan which produces one course of development rather than several divergent courses." The essential features of such courses for the elementary, the secondary, and the continuation school are outlined and, a delightful surprise to readers of recent educational books, Mr. Richmond's suggestions are perfectly adapted to our large public schools as well as to experimental or specially equipped schools. The introduction of such a course does not preclude a total reorganization of our schools; on the contrary it may hasten it. But its immediate value is self-evident and attainable. The one great difficulty of the synthetic course is, as Mr. Richmond recognizes, that of securing "synthetic teachers." But with the introduction of this method they will develop, for such a course will vitalize the work of the teachers as well as that of the children.

G. H. F.

EDUCATION AND THE GENERAL WELFARE. Frank K. Sechrist. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Mr. Sechrist's book is in the nature of an elementary textbook on school law, hygiene and management for the use of those actively engaged in school work. It attempts a detailed study of the entire problem of public school education—its philosophy, the responsibility of the state and federal govern-

ment, the provisions of existing laws, the child welfare movement, compulsory attendance, the school plant, the curriculum, the health and the psychology of the child. It is too comprehensive in its scope to be effective, and leaves an impression of carefully selected but not wholly assimilated material. Some questions are handled in such detail that their relationship to the general theme is lost—such as the modern school building, the daily program, etc. On the other hand the discussion of school laws in some instances is so general as to be almost misleading. In the treatment of child labor and compulsory school attendance the general trend of the laws throughout the country is summarized, but on the whole a too optimistic impression is left through failure to take into account the wide variation in the laws of different states, the many ways in which they are evaded and, frequently, the total lack of any effort at enforcement. The book is, however, a valuable plea for state conservation of childhood through the public school as its agent—not only by making it necessary and economically possible for the child to attend school, but by providing for him a type of education that will meet his individual needs, will develop his capacities, mental and physical, and will direct his emotions.

G. H. F.

HEY-RUB-A-DUB-DUB. Theodore Dreiser. New York: Boni and Liveright.

"A book of the mystery and terror and wonder of life," the sub-title calls it, but the text of the volume seems to be "If I were to preach any doctrine to the world, it would be a love of change, or at least lack of fear of it." Mr. Dreiser is passionately against all sheep-like conventionality, against all canned sentiment, against the superficiality that accepts a thing simply because it has always been so. The book is diffuse, and it is not constructive, in the sense that he offers no panaceas, but it is certainly a lively thought-awakener, guaranteed to make a number of complacent people very angry,—if they trouble to read it. It is not recommended as a mental sedative.

H. D. F.

RECREATION. Viscount Grey of Falloden. K. G. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, $1.25.

Here is a delightful essay of the personal kind, treating of favorite books, of games and sports, and of a very interesting acquaintance with Theodore Roosevelt. In one of his paragraphs on books he writes: "I have had too little time for reading, but that my advice may not be entirely academic I will recommend you, at any rate, one good modern novel. Its name is 'The Bent Twig,' the authoress is Dorothy Canfield, and I can tell you nothing except that she is an American, but the book seems to me one of the best pieces of work in novel writing that has happened to come under my observation recently."

ARMY MENTAL TESTS. Compiled and edited by Clarence S. Yoakum and Robert M. Yerkes. New York: Henry Holt and Company, $1.50.

This little book is a book of information, describing the methods and results of psychological examining in the Army, with suggestions as to the possible uses of similar methods in education and industry.

THE COMMUNITY CENTER. L. J. Hanifan. New York: Silver, Burdett and Company.

The State Supervisor of Rural Schools, West Virginia, contributes this volume to the Teacher Training Series. It is one that should prove very suggestive and helpful to a teacher in trying to make her school a real community institution and to relate school work to community life.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY, ANCIENT AND MODERN. Newell Leroy Sims, Ph.D. New York: Charles Scribners Sons.

Prof. Sims, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, has prepared a volume of selected readings covering over 900 octavo pages. The community is treated historically, analytically, and indeed in every way in which it has been treated in the now voluminous literature of country life. The selections are admirably done, and altogether the volume is an invaluable source-book on its subject. Reports of many modern surveys, with charts and maps, are included.

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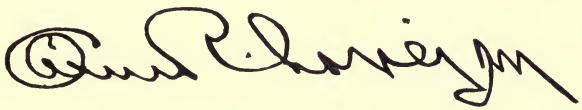
MADELINE McDOWELL BRECKENRIDGE: Citizen

Mrs. Breckinridge held a unique place among the active, most valued friends of the National Child Labor Committee and her loss is to us a real one. There has never been a time in the sixteen years of our work when we have gone to Kentucky with a suggestion for Kentucky's children that Mrs. Breckinridge has not welcomed us with all the grace and the understanding of her rare personality. She was one of the creators in Kentucky of a spirit of friendliness, of eagerness to serve, and of desire for the very best things in life which is not easily forgotten. Her chief interest was, of course, for many years the woman suffrage issue, yet she was never too busy to think of the needs and rights of childhood, and as vice-president and member of the executive committee of the Kentucky Child Labor Committee lent the force of her influence to a group who were seriously working on the problem of protection and development for all of Kentucky's children. In her own home, Lexington, she worked for and secured playgrounds and parks, a model school, a juvenile court, public health work, scientific charities,—all the definite expressions of a wide social viewpoint. As I look back upon her work and what she meant to her city, to her state, and to all of us who were interested in social betterment, it occurs to me that if every city and town had in it at least one citizen of the breadth of vision and

practical enthusiasm of Mrs. Breckinridge, to do for that locality what she did for Lexington and for Kentucky, the work of such groups as the National Child Labor Committee would be so helped and inspired that we would find ourselves rapidly attaining our objectives and actually giving to the children of America those things which we wish for them. Mrs. Breckinridge's life is for all of us a striking lesson in practical citizenship.



NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

The Schools and Unemployment

The unemployment situation and the increase in children's applications for work permits in the first eight months of 1920 have led very naturally to Stay-in-School drives in 1920–21. Two of the most interesting of these, while not called by that name, are being carried on with great success in Detroit and Minneapolis. Arthur Lederle, Supervisor of Attendance, in Detroit, gives as his slogan, "Save the jobs for the parents. Keep the children in school." In the fall of 1920 he pointed out to the Mayor and Public Welfare Commission that over 1,000 children under 16 were out of school with work permits while adult unemployment was increasing every day. He suggested that if the city could aid the families of these children to enable them to stop work and return to school, there would be just so many more jobs open to adults. This suggestion brought about a general discussion of the situation and resulted in a program of cooperation between the school authorities and the Public Welfare Commission to prevent children from leaving school unless absolutely necessary. At present all applications for work permits are carefully investigated by the social service department of the Public Welfare Commission. The Board of Education has made a ruling, also, that no permit shall be granted to a child in whose family an adult is unemployed. The result of these two measures is that the number of permits granted this year is much below that of last year. In December, 1920, only 34 permits were issued as against 126 in December, 1919. In January, 1921, only 12 permits were issued as against 167 in January, 1920. It is true that there were not so many applications this year as last, but the fact that 100 permits were refused this January as against 28 refused last January is important.

In Minneapolis the emphasis has been on part-time work for

children. The school authorities received a large number of calls for after-school work in the fall of 1920 and realized that the provision of suitable part-time work would do a great deal to hold many children in school. Therefore the fourteen home visitors of the city school system devoted several days to canvassing employers for openings. About 500 firms were visited and in spite of business depression many jobs were found. In January, N. H. Hegel, vocational adviser, of the Board of Education, wrote that Minneapolis was feeling the widespread industrial depression keenly and that the immediate result so far as children 14 to 16 were concerned, was to return these children to school since the law requires all such children to be either in school or at work. Special vocational work is being given in order to care for these children. "The groups of boys between 16 and 21, who have passed the errand-boy stage are not trained for anything else, are perhaps our most difficult problem," writes Mr. Hegel. "Since factories are closed and plenty of grown men are available for all jobs these boys are out of work in large numbers. We are advising those who are here from small towns and farms to return home until business picks up, and we are inducing just as many as possible to return to school. The Board of Education has opened a special trade school in one of the Minneapolis Steel Machinery buildings. Here boys who are unemployed may go for short trade courses. The regular high schools are accommodating themselves to the situation by taking in boys and girls who have been out of school and giving them whatever training they want . . . The free employment agencies of Minneapolis have recently formed an organization to pool information about employment and to cooperate in handling the situation. All the agencies are assisting us in our effort to return to school juveniles who are out of work." Part-time jobs are still coming in from the employers visited in the fall, and through them and the work permit system, the school board is keeping its hands on the children.

Federal Enforcement and Kansas

In December, newspapers announced that because of certain illegal certificates issued by a Kansas City judge, Kansas had been removed from the list of states accredited by the federal authorities

in the issuance of work permits. Investigation proved that this was not true, however, Kansas never having been actually removed from the accredited list. But the whole situation, especially the fact that federal authority was called upon to put a stop to illegalities within the state, makes the case a very interesting one. According to the State Department of Labor and Industry, the judge in question was issuing certificates illegally to children under 14 years of age. The state factory inspector cancelled the certificates but the judge insisted that they were legal and ordered the children holding them to return to work. Thereupon the state factory inspector reported the matter to the Child Labor Tax Division of the Bureau of Internal Revenue who immediately recommended that the matter be settled locally if possible through the state Attorney-General, so as to avoid federal action. The Kansas Commissioner of Labor then appealed to the Attorney-General who took the matter up with the judge. In due time the judge announced that having studied the statutes carefully he was convinced that it was the intention of the legislature to prohibit work by children under 14 and therefore "I shall from this day henceforth issue no permits to children under 14 years of age for any purpose so long as such a law remains the law of Kansas." The judge also stated that he hoped the legislature would remove the clause, "judge of the juvenile court" from the statute and put the issuance of work permits entirely in the hands of the Superintendent of Schools. A new statute including this provision is one of the proposals of the Kansas Children's Code Commission this year.

New Jersey's Child Welfare Week

New Jersey will celebrate "Child Welfare Week," May 8–15, 1921. Governor Edwards has made this announcement at the request of the New Jersey Council of Child Welfare, organized this fall with the slogan, "Make New Jersey the Children's State." The field secretary of the Council reports that the definite plans for Child Welfare Week will be left to the various communities, in which the Council is attempting to bring together various groups and agencies, together with municipal departments and private institutions, to coordinate their work for children and to formulate

programs that will intensify their work. The Council also aims to act as a clearing-house for information and service to agencies or individuals interested in child welfare, through five committees (child hygiene, public education, good citizenship, child labor, and law and law enforcement) made up of representatives of state organizations and leading specialists along the various lines. Unfortunately the Council has been having difficulties in raising funds for its work, but it is to be hoped that New Jersey citizens will rise to the occasion and make possible, financially, this practical attempt to coordinate child welfare activities in the state.

Child Welfare Study in West Virginia

Members of the field staff of the National Child Labor Committee, working under the direction of Dr. Edward N. Clopper, are engaged in making a study of child welfare in West Virginia. This is the seventh in the Committee's series of studies on a statewide basis. The study in West Virginia is more distinctly rural than any of the others. Nearly eighty-five per cent of the population under twenty years of age live in districts classified as rural. The economic activities of the state are predominantly concerned with agriculture, horticulture, timber-production, mining, oil and gas development, and manufacturing. Rural life, for a large number of people, is very greatly modified by oil and gas developments and mining and manufacturing enterprises.

Data in reference to the chief social and economic factors affecting or determining the lives of 700 rural families have already been gathered and these are now being tabulated. With this material as a basis for more specialized study, the investigators are proceeding to further study child labor on the farm, rural child dependency, rural school attendance, the personnel and procedure of rural courts dealing with children, and rural recreation. A special study is also being made of the application of child welfare laws to rural children. It is expected that the field work involved in the West Virginia study will be completed in May.

The Federal Children's Bureau, last autumn, studied child life in the coal-mining counties of Raleigh and Fayette, West Virginia. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene recently completed a study of feeble-mindedness in the state.

Coming Child Labor Conference

The Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor will be held, under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee, at Milwaukee in June, in conjunction with the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. The exact date of the Child Labor Conference will be announced later.

The meeting of the Conference of Social Work will be held June 22 to June 29, inclusive. A large number of allied organizations will hold meetings in Milwaukee either immediately prior to or during the week of the Social Work Conference meeting. Among these allied organizations are: Public Health Nurses' Association, the Jewish Conference of Social Welfare, the Canadian Conference of Public Welfare, National Board of the Y. W. C. A., the National Association for Community Organization, Interstate Conference on Illegitimacy, National Probation Association, National Conference on Education of Backward, Truant and Delinquent Children, National Children's Home Society, National Travelers' Aid Society.

Plans for Child Health Demonstration

The National Child Health Council has announced plans for a child health demonstration in some one community of the United States. The object will be to assist the community in working out a well-rounded program for the health of its mothers and children. The National Child Health Council consists of representatives of six national organizations which are either wholly or partly engaged in health work for children. The object is to coordinate the child health work of member organizations with that of public departments and private organizations generally which are engaged in national work for the health of babies and children. Health the Council conceives to be the vigorous and happy enjoyment of all of the physical powers in a way that will contribute most to the sound development of the citizenship of the country.

One of the ultimate goals of the Council's efforts will be the development of a comprehensive and well balanced child health program on a national scale. Therefore members of the Council feel that it is especially appropriate that a demonstration of what such

a program can be should be carried out in some community with the cooperation of all who are joining in the national movement. A test of the soundness and effectiveness of this demonstration will be the permanency of the results in the life of the community. For that reason the attitude of the citizens and officials toward it will be one determining factor in the selection of the community. None will be considered which do not cordially wish to have this demonstration. Announcement will be made within the next few weeks of the plans of the Council as to the selection of the community and of the conditions which are considered desirable in order that the demonstration may be of most service to the country.

The member organizations of the Council and their representatives are as follows:

American Child Hygiene Association
Philip Van Ingen, M.D.
Richard A. Bolt, M.D.

American Red Cross
Livingston Farrand, M.D.
Ervin A. Peterson, M.D.

Child Health Organization of America
L. Emmett Holt, M.D.
Sally Lucas Jean

National Child Labor Committee
Homer Folks
Owen R. Lovejoy

National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Edna L. Foley
Florence M. Patterson

National Tuberculosis Association
William H. Baldwin
Charles J. Hatfield, M.D.

Contributions Exempt from Income Tax

That part of your income which you give to the children of America through the National Child Labor Committee is not subject to either the federal or the New York State income tax. This statement is based on official opinions which we have obtained. If your income tax is too heavy cut it down by contributing more of your money to the Committee! Lest this suggestion appear designed to take away from the revenues of state and nation we bid you bear in mind that the work we are doing together for the children yields large material and spiritual dividends to both state and nation. America can not lose by what money you devote to the cause of child labor reform.

Health Needs of Working Children

On February 15 there was held in New York, under the chairmanship of Dr. Lee K. Frankel, vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association, an "Informal Conference for the Eastern States" on "The Health Needs of the Boy and Girl in Industry." For the purposes of the conference the following definition, appearing on the typewritten program, was used: "By 'the boy and girl in industry' is meant the large group of young people, especially those under the age of 25, who have left school and are engaged in gainful employment." Dr. H. H. Mitchell, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, has prepared some brief notes regarding the conference, and these follow:

This meeting represents a venture into the yet unexplored field of the health needs of boys and girls in industry. It is rather surprising to discover that such a large group of our population has heretofore been generally overlooked in health work. School-leaving statistics indicate that about one-fourth of the children leave school before they are 15 years of age, one-half leave before they are 15½, and three-fourths leave before they are 16 years, and yet the high school and college boys and girls have been the ones to receive the health attention rather than the larger groups. Health workers have given special attention to other age groups such as infancy, the school child, and the adult in industry. Dr. B. C. Gruenberg of the U. S. Public Health Service, who stated the purposes of the conference, emphasized that visual education such as has been used during the last three years among industrial workers for the prevention of venereal disease has been confined for the younger groups to the relatively small number of high school and college boys and girls. He stated that he considered that young people were much more responsive to educational work than the adults, and yet in the industries they are neglected both from the educational and health side.

This Conference was largely directed at the problem of venereal disease, and yet it should be considered that the methods of venereal disease prevention in general will be effective for other health activities. Mr. Clancy D. Connel, former secretary for boys in industry, New York State Committee, Y. M. C. A., answered the question,

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"Is it true that the health needs of the boy in industry are different from those of the boy in school, and is it true that the working boy is in greater danger of venereal disease infection than the school boy, and is it also true that the working boy is subject to infection at an earlier age than the boy in school?" Mr. Connel's answer was, "Yes, by all means." The first reason is that the home life from which the boys come is different. He cited from a study of 1,300 boys in factories in Rochester "that 26 per cent had either father or mother dead." He emphasized that the boy who helps support his family is apt to feel a certain license and he has a certain liberty in so far as the use of his leisure hours are concerned. He said 70 per cent of the boys in industry at the age of 16 and 17 was not an unusual percentage to have come from foreign countries or have foreign-born parents in Jamestown, Elmira, Rochester and Niagara Falls. He said that a large number of boys from the age of 15 leave their homes in small towns and the open country and go to the cities, and these boys have no home life. They live in boarding houses and cheap hotels. "The boy in industry is unlike the boy in high school because high school days are idealistic." Dr. Rachelle S. Yarros of the Illinois State Board of Health made a similar plea for the health needs peculiar to the girl in industry. It was agreed that the principles governing the health work for this group are not different from those applying to similar groups of children in school, but that their environment does present peculiar hazards that demand special attention.

Both Dr. Thomas Darlington, Medical Director of the U. S. Iron and Steel Institute, and Mr. J. P. Munroe, Vice-chairman of Federal Board for Vocational Education, in speaking upon the topic, "Why should the employer assume responsibility for protecting the young people in his employ from dangers of infection by venereal disease, and why should he afford opportunities for such protection when other agencies are carrying on venereal disease control work among boys and girls?" agreed that employers were more and more realizing that one of the biggest wastes in industry is in human material because of ill health, and that it pays to use modern public health methods. Mr. Munroe stated that such measures should originate within the industry itself by stimulating the workers so that employer and employee may go hand in hand with mutual benefit.

Mr. E. C. Davidson, secretary of the International Association of Machinists, who spoke for the unions, emphasized that the workers should have the truth about venereal disease, and he showed how the unions were already cooperating with the U. S. Public Health Service in carrying out their educational activities. Several employer representatives of large industries gave illustrations of what they had been doing in their plants, and emphasized such points as the importance of proper organization, gaining the confidence of the employees, proper occupational placement, community health work, and yearly physical examinations. A number of speakers brought out the point that this health problem is a general one and represents a civic responsibility on the part of the employer, the employee, the community and the nation toward a very large proportion of our youth. Such a viewpoint is essential, although the efforts of the employer, organized labor, and the public and private health agencies will be a great help in working out a satisfactory solution. It seems to us that the really significant consideration of such a meeting, and such discussions is the recognition of this unexplored field of the public health movement,—*i.e.*, the health needs of the boy and girl in industry.

Dr. Wm. F. Snow, General Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, in summing up the main points of the Conference, remarked: "I do not believe that we have to have many more meetings such as this to prove the importance of this thing. We have our data. We now have to see what we can do in the various communities." Would that this appreciation of the special needs of children in industry were true of other public health groups. It may be true that the persons present at this Conference appreciate the importance of the problem from the standpoint of venereal disease. We may have sufficient data to prove that venereal-disease preventive measures must be inaugurated for our younger industrial workers, but we have a larger health problem with regard to this age period, that of: (1) protection from the peculiar health hazards both of industry itself and of unhygienic living; and (2) of providing health service and proper health education. As yet our health officials have not really begun to grapple with the problem. Possibly school health authorities will soon take it up with the medical examiners for work permits, and develop a practical administrative plan for such health service through the continuation

schools. We are advised that such pioneer work is already under way in Milwaukee.

Post Graduate Course in Child Hygiene

Recently a Post Graduate Course in Child Hygiene opened at the State Normal School at Trenton, N. J. The Course has been arranged at the suggestion of the New Jersey State Department of Health in cooperation with the State Normal School. Training is given in fundamentals of child care, in applied hygiene, in social case work, and in the many other phases of public health work with which child hygiene nurses come in contact, in their direct relation to child hygiene work. The comprehensiveness of the Course has been made possible by the active cooperation of all divisions of the Health Department and of the faculty of the Trenton Normal School, as well as of specialists in certain fields. That the benefits accruing from the Course will be far reaching is assured by a registration of 56 Child Hygiene nurses, who have their fields of operation in every section of the state, and who will thus be able to bring to their work a heightened interest and a broader knowledge and understanding of their immediate problems. This is the first time, according to the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, that Child Hygiene nurses employed by a State Department of Health have been given an opportunity of this nature.

Child Labor in Imperial Valley

Through the cooperation of friends of children, wide publicity has been given in California to the report by Miss Emma Duke on child labor conditions in that State published in the November number of the AMERICAN CHILD. Already there are evidences of a good effect on public opinion. Once more the value of the service rendered by investigation and publicity has been demonstrated. Child labor reform depends very largely on information.

For the most part the press comment regarding Miss Duke's report has been intelligent. However, there have been one or two noteworthy exceptions. There seems to be a hypersensitiveness in some minds that responds inevitably to expositions of the child

labor evil with totally irrational misinterpretations of the statements made. Miss Duke's careful presentation of carefully observed and verified facts suffered in some newspapers that atrocious garbling and misquotation with which the National Child Labor Committee has had long experience. The treatment accorded the report in some quarters illustrates also the difficulty of getting people to believe that there can be child labor in agriculture. The idyllic conception of country life still stands in the way of general appreciation of the fact that the great child labor problem of today is the problem of rural child labor. When this Committee, a long time back, was telling the people of America about child labor in factories, we were met with denial on the part of employers and skepticism on the part of a considerable portion of the general public. But at last we were vindicated by the force of informed opinion, and we have seen in the recent advertisements of some of those very employers who bitterly opposed us in the beginning the proud announcement, "We do not employ child labor." We are now telling the story about child labor as it flourishes under somewhat different conditions—child labor in agriculture, especially in forms of agriculture that have become highly industrialized—and we are confronted by the same denial and the same skepticism. But in due time the charges will be proved before the bar of public opinion and appropriate remedial and preventive measures will be taken.

To illustrate the misquotation and misinterpretation to which a report like that on "California the Golden," is subjected by those who don't want to believe it or don't want others to believe it, let us cite a long two column editorial in the El Centro *Progress*, a newspaper published in the Imperial Valley and fearful that this article constitutes a libel on the Valley. This editorial quotes the article as saying that "Children three years old are made to pick cotton," and that "children five years old are compelled to pick all day." Nowhere does the original say that "children three years old are *made* to pick cotton" nor that "children five years old are *compelled* to pick all day." The statements as they appear in the original article are "All kinds of children pick—even those as young as three years," and "Five year old children pick steadily all day." These absolutely correct statements do not imply a majority of workers at these ages. They simply call attention to the fact that

in this work done by family groups, children as young as three can be and are utilized. Obviously, children of these ages could constitute but a small proportion of the total number of workers. They do, however, constitute a bad phase of the child-labor situation. The El Centro *Progress* takes exception to the statements that "school attendance and child labor laws are violated more in Imperial Valley than in any other part of the state" and that "between 2,500 and 3,000 children are out of school picking cotton." These statements in the article are based upon statements of officials of the state government of California, whose business it has been to ascertain the facts. While the article was in proof, Miss Duke telegraphed to one of the state offices and asked it to confirm previously given permission to use the statement concerning the number of children which is on file in the official records of the state and received telegraphic confirmation in reply. The article as it appeared in the American Child even explains the basis by which the state arrived at this estimate of 2,500 or more children. The *Progress* says: "Deduct the children of Mexican contract laborers—thicker than bees in a hive—and the number would not be any greater than in other sections of the state." This is very doubtful. But why deduct the Mexican children, anyway? Isn't a child in this enlightened country entitled to an education and to a happy childhood, free from toil, even though his parents may be laborers, and Mexicans at that? The fact that conditions may be worse in the country from which they come is not a valid excuse for denying a foreign-born child his right to an education so that employers or parents may profit from his labor.

California has a child labor law which should be enforced but is very inadequately enforced in the Imperial Valley and other rural parts of the state—for reasons given in detail in the article by Miss Duke. Shortage of schools is not the whole of the explanation; children are not attending even where there are schools—many of them are working. We understand that a bill is pending in the legislature appropriating $15,000 for the enforcement of the child labor law in rural districts. We learn also that more attendance officers may be provided by another act of the legislature. Interesting, too, are the plans of the State Board of Education for the employment of "travelling teachers," to follow the migratory families in their seasonal occupations and take charge of their

children. But the final solution of California's rural child labor problem, or that of America's rural child labor problem, is not fully represented by such measures as these. Let us press forward, thinking as courageously as we act.

BREVITIES

The report of the National Child Labor Committee on "Child Welfare in Tennessee" is being published by the Tennessee Child Welfare Commission.

The National Child Labor Committee joined with various other organizations in promoting the Citizens' Conference on Education (for the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) held in New York City January 28 and 29 at the call of Dr. P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education.

An interesting and valuable "Handbook of Constructive Child Labor Reform in Massachusetts" has just been issued by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, 6 Beacon Street, Boston. The booklet contains not only a wealth of facts about child labor but many practical illustrations of ways and means of dealing with the problem. Its usefulness should not be limited to Massachusetts.

Miss Gertrude H. Folks, Specialist in Schools, National Child Labor Committee, conducted courses at the Tennessee School Attendance Officers' Conference held in Nashville January 13 to 18, inclusive, under the auspices of the State Department of Education, the Peabody College for Teachers, the Southern Division of the American Red Cross, and the National Child Labor Committee.

George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, organized and directed a recent campaign whereby the boys and girls in the New Nork City public schools, through distribution of literature and the voices of a special corps of speakers, received the gospel of Stay-in-School. Various organizations cooperated.

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Many readers of the AMERICAN CHILD have written or spoken to the editors expressing their appreciation of the articles and stories which Professor John F. Smith is contributing to this magazine. We are glad to say that there is more to come in future issues. No one in America writes more interestingly or understandingly than Professor Smith of rural life in the Southern Highlands. He is a member of the faculty of Berea College Academy, heading the Department of Social Sciences.

CHILD LABOR AND RURAL TENANCY

CHARLES E. GIBBONS

As the 1920 Census figures are being announced from time to time, the alarmists are busy, just as they were a decade ago, agitating a "back to the farm" movement, for the figures are showing a continuance of the tendency which was well marked in 1910, namely, the urban population is increasing while the rural population is correspondingly decreasing. They fear the farms are being depopulated so rapidly that the national food supply is endangered. They are clamoring for some plan whereby city dwellers will be enabled to go out to farms. This sounds well but they have failed to recognize that migration of people from country to city is following a fundamental economic law. People will continue to do as they have done throughout all the ages—go where they can do the best. Economically the situation looks worse for the country than it really is. It is true there are fewer people on the farms than formerly, but there is need for fewer even in proportion to the increase in the national population. This is because of the tremendous increase in the use of power-driven machinery, a greater diversification of crops, and a more intelligent use of fertilizer. One man with a tractor can plow as much in a day as three men with teams can. Hence we find there is no decrease in the number of cultivated acres, or in the yield per acre.

Better methods of farming have had a direct beneficial effect upon landowners throughout the entire country, although their influence is least felt in the so-called "cash crop" sections. Tenants in general grain-farming and diversified-crop regions have received considerable help from better methods of farming, but those living in one-crop sections have received practically no benefits from them at all. Improvement in social factors, such as education, health, recreation, child labor and sanitary conditions of farm life, have not generally kept pace with the improvement in methods of farming, although, as a rule, the better the husbandry, the better the social

life of the people. The purpose of this article is to discuss rural child labor with special reference to the effect that tenancy in the "cash-crop" regions has upon it.

So far very little consideration has been given to rural child labor, yet nearly three-fourths of all working children from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, work either on the home farm or as "farm laborers working out." Of the total number of farm laborers on the home farm and working out, from 10 to 15 years of age, 83.0 per cent are found in thirteen states. These same states have 49.8 per cent of all the farms in the United States. Forty-nine and four-tenths per cent of the farms in these states are operated by tenants whose number is two-thirds the total number in the United States. These same thirteen states in 1919 had 85 per cent of the tobacco and 99 per cent of the cotton acreage of the United States. Cotton and tobacco are the leading cash crops raised in this country.

There are no provisions in state or national laws giving protection or supervision to agricultural child laborers.* Moreover in every state in the Union, farm work either does not come within the purview of the law, or else is made a legal excuse for children to stay out of school.

In order to understand why conditions are thus it is necessary to study briefly farm psychology. The farmer is and always has been an individualist. As compared with the city dweller he lives far from his neighbors. He works alone out in the field completely cut off from any social intercourse with his neighbors. Consequently he does not fully appreciate the value of co-operation and team work. He still retains most of the independence he enjoyed in pioneer times so far as the care of his children is concerned. He determines whether they shall or shall not go to school; whether they shall or shall not work and, if they work, he lays down the conditions and hours of work. He does not see that child labor may seriously interfere with both the physical and mental development of his children; but on the other hand, for them not to work is a positive evil, as he sees it. The parent himself has known nothing but work, his parents before him had always worked, so why shouldn't his children work? For his children to take time

* See, in this number "Notes on Child Labor and Compulsory Attendance Laws as They Affect the Employment of Children in Agriculture."

off from work to play is a waste of time—worse than idleness—and many parents, even at the present time, feel it is better for the children to work than go to school; consequently there has been no demand on the part of farm people for any protective legislation for child laborers. On the other hand there has been a definite opposition to any attempt to regulate the hours and conditions of agricultural child laborers, and so thoroughly has the legislator been impressed with this apparently inherent right of farm parents that he will not seriously consider even the simplest regulatory measures.

Undoubtedly in pioneer days when the struggle to make both ends meet on the farm was intense, there was justification in the demand of both owner and tenant parents that every member of the family, however small, should contribute as much as possible towards his "board and keep"; but with the great increase in prosperity of farmers, this argument has lost most of its weight, if indeed it has any at all now. In a study recently made by the National Child Labor Committee in Tennessee, 186 owner families were found to have an average net income from the land, of $1,293.00 and 177 tenant families an average net income of $446.00. From this evidence it is clear that owner parents have no excuse whatever for keeping their children home from school to work, in order to make a living. In the absence of knowledge of what a living return ought to be for families living on farms, it is difficult to say whether tenant parents must actually have the labor of their children, or not, in order to make a living. If they must actually have their labor—and the evidence strongly points to their needing it—then it is a sad commentary on the industry that parents engaged in it must force their children to assist with the work, in order to make a living. Surely no American institution has the right to exist when it keeps in economic slavery any part of the people necessary for its maintenance.

The status of tenants in the diversified-crop sections of the South is little if any more than that of day laborers. They are given only a small amount of land to cultivate—just enough to hold them—and the remainder of the time they must work on the owners' land as laborers. The wage of from 75 cents to $1.50 is so small that they are unable to live on it, consequently many of them are leaving these communities and going either to the "cash-crop" sections or to industrial centers. The writer found one community

that had seven empty tenant houses, and the landowners were complaining bitterly about the shortage of labor. Where diversified farming is carried on there aren't nearly so many kinds of work that children can do. The tenants in one-crop communities had an average net income from the land of $489.00 as against $345.00 for those living in diversified crop communities. No doubt a part of this difference in income is derived from a greater use of child labor.

It is in the one-crop sections that not only the greatest number of child laborers, but also the worst forms of child labor, are found. Here the tenancy system is operated largely on the so-called cropper basis. The tenant furnishes the labor and usually half the fertilizer, the money for which is often advanced by the land owner. The landlord furnishes the land, work stock, implements, seed and half the fertilizer. Each receives half the crop. In addition the landlord gives the tenant a house, such as it is, firewood, and a garden. The number of hands a tenant has, as a rule, determines the number of acres he may have in cotton or tobacco. Since his labor supply is derived from his own family, the number of acres he cultivates depends upon the number of children he has. In one-crop sections tenants farm little except the one crop. They buy their vegetables rather than raise them. In many communities the owners are raising the diversified crops, and leaving the cash crops for their tenants to raise.

Owners as a rule do not provide modern, power-driven machinery for their tenants. Most of the plowing for and cultivating of cotton and tobacco is done with single plows and one-horse cultivators. This makes the work go slowly, hence a great amount of labor is needed. Cotton is planted, hoed, weeded, and picked and tobacco is planted, hoed, weeded, suckered, wormed, topped, gathered, and prepared for curing and market—all by hand. Children from six years of age and up can be and are used in every one of these operations. The fact that there are so many kinds of work that children can do is too often conclusive proof to the parents that their children ought to work, school or no school, recreation or no recreation. They never have any suspicion that the health of their children may be seriously affected by their labor.

The kinds of work the children are called upon to do in the one-crop sections is not training them to be any better farmers than

their parents. It is mere drudgery and wholly uneducational. It doesn't teach them thrift and economy, for the parents as a rule get all the returns from their labor; in fact, their labor is simply a "board and keep" proposition. Out of 112 tenant parents in Tennessee only 18 reported their children owning anything, such as a pig, calf, acre of corn, cotton, etc., and receiving the profits therefrom. There is nothing in this drudgery that creates interest in the farm. Many of them leave without even having the chance to experience the better side of farm life. Long hours of monotonous, uninteresting, never-ending work in the cotton field or tobacco patch is driving many boys and girls to industrial centers. Some who stay on the farm without either interest or training become the derelicts of the countryside. Success has not crowned their lives largely because of the complacent feeling that "anybody can be a farmer."

The growing season for both cotton and tobacco is long. It is frequently said that it takes 13 months to make a tobacco crop. Often the last of the cotton is not picked until long after the holiday season; consequently, the attendance of children at school is seriously interfered with. In the same study previously referred to, 95 owner parents said they sent their children to school regularly and 23 said they did not; while 35 tenant parents said they sent their children to school regularly, and 65 said they did not. This is a challenge when 19.5 per cent of owner parents and 62.6 per cent of tenant parents frankly say they do not send their children to school regularly. The ratio of attendance to non-attendance among owners in one-crop communities was 47 to 18, and in diversified crop communities it was 48 to 5. Among tenants in one-crop communities the ratio was 23 to 46 and in diversified crop communities it was 12 to 13. That is to say 27.7 per cent of owner families and 66.6 per cent of tenant families in one-crop communities, and 9.4 per cent of owner families and 52.0 per cent. of tenant families in diversified crop communities do not send their children to school regularly.

Following are the reasons given by parents: owners, work, 14; sickness, 12; and weather and distance, 2. Tenants, work, 36; sickness, 15; weather and distance, 4; and indifference, 8. Numerically work is the greatest cause both owner and tenant parents give. Among those families whose children are irregular in attend-

ance at school in one-crop communities, work was the excuse of owners in 61.0 per cent and of tenants in 70.0 per cent of the cases, and among the families in diversified-crop communities work was the excuse of owners in 60.0 per cent and of tenants 30.8 per cent of the cases. Tenancy wherever found interferes with school attendance and where there is an excessive amount of it, as in the one-crop areas, it undoubtedly influences owner parents in *not sending their children to school.*

In the one-crop sections there is a great amount of moving among the tenants. In the Tennessee study the writer found the owners had owned their land an average of 164.0 months, while the tenants had lived in the same place an average of only 28.8 months. There is practically no difference in the average number of months owners had owned their land in one-crop and in diversified-crop communities, but the period of occupancy for the tenants in the former was 24.6 months as against 40.3 months in the latter. In one community in the one-crop section the average for the tenants was as low as six months.

So much moving has a bad influence on school attendance. Moving time is usually about the first of the year. Frequently, the parents, when they are late in the fall in getting their crop out, do not start their children to school, knowing they will move about Christmas time; then after they have moved, they argue it wont be long before school closes and spring work opens up, so it is of no use to start them at all. Many children were found who had been out of school for a whole year at a time.

Shifting tenantry creates an attitude of indifference on the part of both owner and tenant parents towards the development of schools. Owner parents who are financially able—and many of them are—send their children to town to school. This tends to educate the children away from the farm, while their parents lose interest in the local school and oppose the raising of the tax levy for its maintenance. Hence the management of the schools tends to fall into the hands of less competent people. The writer found in Tennessee a well-marked tendency in certain localities for the schools to be patronized by tenant children only. This is unfortunate, for, if tenancy is to be maintained as it should be,—as a normal stepping stone to ownership,—then the democratizing effect of all children attending the same school should not be lost.

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In order that there may be a community of interest between owners and tenants every opportunity should be used for the one fully to appreciate and understand the importance of the other. At the present time, in much of the one-crop area, this is not the case. On the contrary, each has a feeling of distrust toward the other. The landlord is usually looking for another tenant, and the tenant for another farm. Tenants' greatest sin is ignorance, landlords' is indifference. The one is not wholly to blame for the weakness of the other, but because of the generally higher educational level, and better financial conditions, land owners have a greater responsibility in bettering the status of tenants.

The evidence strongly points to tenancy being maintained as it is in the one-crop areas, simply because it is a paying proposition to landowners. Since tenancy is necessary to the maintenance of the present system, landowners ought not to be permitted to "draw their mantles about themselves" and say, "We will shoulder just as little responsibility as we dare, with reference to the education of tenants' children." At the same time they are not unwilling to make capital out of the labor of little children and where the question of increasing the tax levy for schools is raised, their voices are heard in no uncertain tones. Our much talked-of system of "free education for every child" leaves much to be desired. Whether rural child labor which does interfere with school attendance is the result of ignorance, indifference, poverty, or in some cases greedy commercialism, or all of them, it matters not. Children should be given their inherent rights, regardless of the cost or on whom it falls. Certainly education, and the opportunity to get it, is one of them.

There is one important difference between agricultural child labor and industrial child labor. In the country the bulk of children work at home and under the supervision of their own parents whereas in industry they work away from home and under the supervision of strangers. In establishing minimum standards for industrial workers, employers, who for the most part had no personal interest in the children they employed, were required to submit to certain restrictions with reference to the employment of children; but to establish the same standards for agricultural child labofers would mean that farmers would have to give up the freedom from all restraint which they now enjoy and have always enjoyed with

reference to the employment of children on the farm. Keeping in mind the individualism of farm parents, it is doubtful whether much would be gained in an attempt at direct legislation. The indirect method,—real compulsory education with adequate machinery for enforcement,—holds out greater hopes. For the present the emphasis will have to be school attendance rather than regulation of work conditions. The law should require that no child under 14 years of age be permitted to stay away from school at all on account of work. Children 14 to 16 years of age might be permitted to remain away from school for a certain number of days during the session provided they get a work permit granted by the county superintendent of schools, under the same conditions that govern the issuance of permits to children who work in industry. Children under 16 years should not be permitted to work for anyone except their parents, during the time when school is in session.

It is recognized that the above suggestion will not wholly eliminate the evils of child labor on the farms, especially in the one-crop areas. Tenancy primarily is an economic condition and its wrongs will have to be righted by economic measures; but the most effective method of attacking the evils which have grown out of it and become deep-rooted is in giving every tenant child an education. Tenancy itself is not an evil. It is a necessary institution but the social injustices that have grown out of it must be righted if the nation is to have a happy and contented rural citizenry.

RECENT CHILD WELFARE REPORTS

HELEN DWIGHT FISHER

The Philadelphia and Delaware newspapers not long ago published startling stories as to "small children" bound out to farmers in lower Delaware. A study of the report on which these stories were based shows that after all the facts are not so lurid as they appeared, although it is true enough that Delaware's old apprenticeship law still holds good and there are children bound out under it. But their number is not great, and the survey on which the newspaper stories were based was made for the express purpose of discovering what conditions actually surround children placed-out in Delaware and what steps the state must take to improve them. The repeal of the old apprenticeship law is one of the first recommendations and since the child welfare division of the State Reconstruction Commission urges the same thing, it is probable that the legislature will consider that law this year.

Previous reports, from the federal Children's Bureau and others, had shown that a number of children were placed-out in Delaware by agencies from outside the state, that many of these children were mental defectives, and that proper investigation did not always attend their placing-out. In the present report 294 children placed-out by 11 different agencies were studied. The agencies varied widely, of course, in their methods of placing-out, but in many cases there was neither sufficient investigation of the child's own family before he was removed from it, nor careful enough study of the family in which he was placed-out. There was almost no supervision of the children after placing-out. Twenty-three per cent of the children were said to be mentally defective or subnormal, and many of them were retarded in school. No complete retardation figures are given, but it is stated in the report that school attendance is very irregular among these children, chiefly because they are placed-out on the understanding that they are to help in farmwork. Of 112 children, 7 to 13 years of age, 34 attended school

less than 101 days, although the law requires children under 14 to attend the full term of 180 days. Among the children 14 to 16 years of age, attendance was less regular; of 91 such children, 79 attended school less than 101 days, the law requiring them to attend at least 100 days. There is practically no provision for recreation for these children. Altogether the situation shows extreme carelessness on the part of most of the agencies who placed the children out, and makes it clear that Delaware must at once take the steps recommended by the State Children's Bureau and Reconstruction Commission.

The annual report (1920) of the Alabama Child Welfare Commission shows that the number of child labor permits issued has been greatly reduced since the establishment of the commission. But in a special study of child workers in certain counties, including Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile, it was found that 30 per cent of the children had completed *no grade in school*, 1 per cent had finished the first grade, 1 per cent the second, 3 per cent the fourth, and 25 per cent the fifth. After September, 1921, it will be impossible for a child to receive a work-permit until he has completed the fourth grade, but even this is, of course, too low an educational requirement.

The report contains, also, a few interesting though isolated figures as to streetworkers which go to prove certain old, old arguments. Whereas 79 per cent of the children at work in other trades said that they were employed to help support widowed or deserted mothers, only 34 per cent of the newsboys, in Mobile, at least, contributed to their family incomes. In Mobile, also, 21 per cent of the newsboys failed to make their grades in school and 75 per cent were graded poor in both conduct and scholarship. In Anniston less than 50 per cent of the newsboys were promoted at the end of the school year.

Interesting data as to the instability of child workers are given in both "Training for Store Service," by Lucile Eaves of the Boston Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and "Industrial Instability of Child Workers," by Robert Morse Woodbury, No. 5 in the Children's Bureau's Industrial Series. Miss Eaves points out that while there was an increase in the number of children entering factories between 1913 and 1918, there was a decrease in the number of children receiving certificates for store-work. In 1913, 36

per cent of the children receiving permits went into stores while in 1918 only 15 per cent of them did so. "At the same time the number of children who entered factories increased from 47 to 66 per cent." Only 50 out of about 1,000 illiterates 18 to 21 years old who were certificated at the Boston office went into stores, and only 9 per cent of the 1,000 children between 14 and 21 in stores had failed to reach the eighth grade. That is, stores have few openings for children with very limited education. As to the shifting of young workers from job to job, Miss Eaves says: "Apparently all the shifting had been confined to 26 per cent or about one-fourth of the young persons of the sample group (19 to 21 years of age). The number of positions which they held varied, as three-fifths had received only 2 certificates, one-fifth 3, and the other fifth from 4 to 14. Those whose certificates indicated more than one employer for each year comprised but 4.7 per cent of the entire group. . . . The verified application schedules . . . showed that the boys averaged 2.37 and the girls 1.37 positions before entering the firms where they were last known to be employed."

The Children's Bureau's study of employment certificate records in Connecticut was of 14 to 16-year-old children only, but shows a similar variation in the amount of shifting of girls and boys. Boys also showed a higher unemployment rate than girls, "10.1 as contrasted with 7.9 in the first month, 5.9 as compared with 4 in the sixth, and 2.4 as compared with 2 in the twenty-third month." Over one-third of the children left their first place of employment before the end of three months and nearly one-sixth left in the first month. Forty-three per cent of the children held two or three positions in the 21 to 24 months studied, and 20 per cent of them held from 4 to 7 positions. There were 7,147 children whose working histories were analyzed, and 74.7 per cent of them or 5,342 went first into manufacturing or mechanical industries, 17.3 per cent into trade and 2.1 per cent into transportation. Here as in the Boston study it was found that boys go to work slightly earlier than girls.

NOTES ON CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSIONS NOW AT WORK*

In the following list all the states are included in which there is any group (state, semi-official or otherwise) working on the codification or revision of child welfare laws. In many cases they are not strictly code commissions, but are included because their work is along that general line.

Colorado.—A committee of eight county judges was appointed by the Governor to report this year on necessary revisions of child welfare laws. Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, who is chairman of the committee, states that a law to regulate the work in beet-fields is included in their program. Newspaper reports indicate that the recommendations are numerous and constructive.

Connecticut.—The children's code commission, Henry P. Fairchild, executive secretary, Hartford, has made its report to the Governor, and the proposed code has been introduced in the Senate by Professor Bakewell of Yale University.

Delaware.—The child welfare division of the State Reconstruction Commission (Mrs. Ina J. Perkins, Wilmington, director of child welfare) has issued its report, "The Chance of a Delaware Child," a very interesting, illustrated account of the commission's child welfare work and recommendations. One of the legislative proposals provides for a permanent Commission to take over and develop the child welfare activities of the Reconstruction Commission. The need of child health work is especially emphasized.

District of Columbia.—A code commission is at work, Frank F. Nesbit, secretary, Washington.

Georgia.—In preparation for a children's code commission, or for the revision of Georgia's child welfare laws, the state council of social agencies has empowered a committee to select the personnel of a proposed "Committee on Children's Legislation." Mr. Burr Blackburn, of the State Board of Public Welfare, Atlanta, can give information.

Illinois.—The state child welfare committee (Mrs. Ira Couch Wood of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago, chairman) has reported on legislation proposed this year, but the full report is not yet published. According to the newspapers, the recommendations call for a division of child welfare and for a children's code.

* Compiled February 1, 1921.

Indiana.—The child welfare commission filed its report with Governor Goodrich on December 23rd. Recommendations, according to the newspapers, included the creation of a juvenile commission for the state, the revision of the compulsory school attendance law, and the enactment of "a drastic child labor law."

Iowa.—The general code commission, appointed in 1919 to edit and codify the laws "of a general nature" and to report desirable changes, has included among its recommendations a number of measures affecting children. The compulsory education law is up for revision, extending the school term for all children between 7 and 16 years of age to 32 weeks a year, and a bill relating to charitable, correctional and penal institutions has been prepared, creating a state board of control for such institutions.

Kansas.—The children's code commission (Dr. Florence Brown Sherbon, State House, Topeka, secretary) has published its report on proposed child welfare legislation, but makes special note of the fact that the proposals are tentative, subject to change if the commission receives further light on them, and that the report is only partial, issued for the purpose of obtaining suggestions and criticism. A child research bureau is proposed with administrative offices at the University of Kansas. Compulsory school attendance is to be required of all children between 7 and 18, except that children 14 or over who have completed the 8th grade may work, under the provisions of the child labor law, provided they attend a part-time school. The child labor law is to be revised, especially in respect to the issuance of work permits.

Kentucky.—The children's code commission (Mr. Elwood Street, Louisville Welfare League, secretary) is at work, but since there is no session of the legislature this year is making no report.

Michigan.—The state child welfare commission (Fred M. Butzel, Union Trust Building, Detroit, secretary) created by act of the legislature of 1917, is a permanent one, making a report at least thirty days prior to the assembling of each successive legislature. The commission has no appropriation, but is nevertheless supervising a great deal of work being done by various groups within the state. A study of Detroit children's institutions has been made recently by Gertrude Folks, of the National Child Labor Committee, for this commission and a local group in Detroit. The National Child Labor Committee also made a comprehensive study of conditions in Michigan for this commission in 1918.

Minnesota.—The committee on social legislation (Frank J. Bruno, 700 Temple Court, Minneapolis, chairman) has made some recommendations to the present legislature, including a statewide regulation of street trading by minors.

Missouri.—The children's code commission (Mrs. H. M. Robertson, secretary, St. Joseph) is still at work and proposes for enactment this year certain measures that were not passed by the legislature at its last session.

Nebraska.—Children's code commission (C. E. Prevey, Lincoln, secretary) has published a comprehensive summary of recommendations to this year's legislature.

New Mexico.—The state child welfare service (Mrs. Max Nordhaus, Albuquerque, chairman) has been working on a legislative program to provide an adequate children's code for the state.

New York.—The children's code commission, created by act of legislature, 1920, is at work, but has not yet made any legislative recommendations.

Ohio.—The Ohio child welfare council (Miss Lucia Johnson, 1010 Hartman Bldg., Columbus, secretary) has a number of committees at work on various problems of child welfare. The committee on school code has made a series of recommendations which include the control of school attendance of all children between the ages of 6 and 18; provision for working certificates for all children between 16 and 18 who have passed the 7th grade and are physically fit; part-time schools in all districts where there are 12 or more children out on certificate, etc.

Oklahoma.—The children's code commission, created by law in 1919, was instructed to make its report not later than July 1, 1920, to the governor who was empowered to transmit it to the present session of the legislature.

Oregon.—As a result of the report of the children's code commision in 1915 and 1917 two child welfare bodies are now functioning in Oregon. The first is a permanent supervisory child welfare commission, and the second, a child welfare revision committee appointed in 1919 for two years to codify, classify and index Oregon's child welfare laws.

South Carolina.—The child welfare commission, appointed by the governor in 1919 (Walter B. Wilbur, chairman, Juvenile Protective Association, Charleston), is now carrying on a mental survey of the state, as a part of its work of studying child welfare conditions preparatory to the formulating of a code. The present study is under the supervision of Dr. V. V. Anderson of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

Tennessee.—The state child welfare commission (C. C. Menzler, Secretary, Tennessee Industrial School, Nashville) is publishing the report of the National Child Labor Committee's study of the state in 1920, preparatory to making recommendations to the legislature.

Texas.—The child welfare commission, appointed by the governor in 1919 (Mrs. E. A. Watters, Chairman, Fort Worth), has a membership of 50 and is designed to be a "clearing-house of all child welfare problems."

NOTES ON COMPILATION OF CHILD LABOR AND COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAWS AS THEY AFFECT THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN AGRICULTURE

Canneries are not considered in the following tables, for the exemption of this industry in many states is nullified by the federal child labor law. The tables are statements of the *laws*, not of *practices*. Whether they are enforced is not indicated.

Table A classifies the states into (1) those which do not mention agriculture in the law; (2) those which specifically exempt agriculture from the operation of the law or modify it in its application to agricultural pursuits; (3) those states in which agriculture is included on an equal basis with other industries. The provisions found in many states forbidding the employment of children in any gainful occupation *during school hours* is not considered in Table A; nor the provisions regulating hours of work. These are presented separately in Tables C and D.

In TableA–1 are given states which do not mention agriculture in the child labor laws and in which the only control of child labor in agriculture is through the enforcement of the compulsory education law. The provisions of the compulsory education law and the loop-holes which would make possible the employment of children in agriculture are also given.

In Table A–2 are included the states which *do* mention agriculture, removing it from the list of industries to which the child labor law is applicable or modifying the provisions of the law in relation to agriculture.

In Table A–3 is shown the one lone state which apparently does forbid child labor in agriculture. (The appearance, however, is untrustworthy.)

In Table B are included the 25 states which contain in either their child labor or their compulsory attendance laws a clause forbidding the employment of children in any gainful occupation dur-

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ing school hours, or in a few cases during the school term. The minimum term prescribed by law in these states is also given.

In Table C is shown the limitation of hours of work of children engaged in agriculture in all states. These fall in three classes: (1) those regulating hours of work in any galnful occupation, and supposedly including agriculture; (2) those specifically exempting agriculture from restriction of hours, and (3) those not mentioning agriculture in the list of occupations in which the hours of work are regulated. Fourteen states specifically exempt agriculture from any restrictions as to hours; twenty-three others do not mention it in the occupations for which hours are regulated; only 11 limit the hours.

TABLE A-1

STATES NOT MENTIONING AGRICULTURE IN CHILD LABOR LAW, AND REGULATION THEREFORE DEPENDING ENTIRELY UPON TERMS OF COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAW

Provisions of Compulsory Attendance Laws

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Arizona.....	8–16; 14 if employed	Entire session	8 mos.	None
Connecticut...	7–16; 14 if employed	Entire session	9 mos.	None
Florida.....	7–16; unless 8th grade completed	Entire session	4 mos.	Poverty; "unusual cause" acceptable to attendance officer of district
Georgia.....	8–14; unless 7th grade completed	Six months	6 mos.	Board of Education is "authorized to take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need for such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in farming districts shall be excused"

TABLE A–1—*Continued*

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Idaho.....	8–16; 15, if 8th grade completed	Entire session	7 mos.	15 years and poverty. Board of Trustees may reduce term of attendance for children in 6th, 7th, 8th grades to 7 mos. at request of parents
Illinois.....	7–16; 14, if employed	Entire session	7 mos.	None
Iowa.....	7–16; 14, if employed	24 weeks (consecutive)	6 mos.	Excused "for sufficient reason" by court of records or judge thereof
Kansas.....	8–15; 14, if employed and literate	Entire session 8 consecutive weeks	7 mos.	None
Kentucky....	7–16; 14, if employed	Entire session	6 mos.	None
Maine.....	7–15	Full term	7½ mos.	'Necessary absences" excused by Superintendent
Maryland.... (Baltimore)	8–16; 14, if employed	Full term	9 mos.	'Necessary absence"
Maryland.... (counties)	7–13 13–14	Full term 100 days unless employed		'Necessary absence"
Massachusetts	7–16; 14, if 6th grade completed and employed	Full term	8 mos.	None

TABLE A–1—*Continued*

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Michigan.....	7–16; 14, if 6th grade completed and employed	Full term	5 mos.	None
Minnesota....	8–16; unless 8th grade completed	Full term	5 mos.	From April to Nov. 1 children 14 and over to work in or about home of parent or guardian, except in first and second class cities
Mississippi.... (Law of 1920)	7–14	80 days	4 mos.	(1) Counties may exempt themselves from Act by vote. (2) Teacher may excuse temporary absence "in extreme case of emergency or domestic necessity"
Montana.....	8–14; 16, if unemployed	Full term	4 mos.	None
Nebraska.....	7–16; 14, if employed	Rural—12 weeks; Cities—full term	7 mos.	None
New Hampshire.....	8–16; 14, if 8th grade completed	Full term	9 mos.	14, if Supt. thinks welfare of child would best be served by withdrawal
New Mexico..	6–16; 14, if employed	Full term	7 mos.	None
North Dakota.	8–15; unless 8th grade completed	Entire session	7 mos.	When labor of child is necessary to support of family

TABLE A–1—*Concluded*

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Ohio.....	8–15 boys 8–16 girls	Full term	7 mos.	None
Oklahoma....	8–18; 16, if employed	2/3 term	3 mos.	No restriction, because such an attendance law impossible of enforcement
Oregon.....	7–16; 18, if unemployed	Full session	8 mos.	None
South Carolina	8–14; 16, unless employed	4 months, unless school board increases time	3 mos.	Over 12 with widowed mother or crippled father
South Dakota.	8–16; unless 8th grade completed	Full term	6 mos.	District board may require only 16 consecutive weeks of attendance for children who have completed 6th grade to continue till they are 16 or complete 8th grade
Utah.....	8–16	20 weeks (10 consecutive)	5 mos.	Children whose services necessary to support mother or or invalid father
Tennessee....	7–17; unless 8th grade completed	Full session	None	None
Vermont.....	8–16	Entire session	8½ mos.	(1) Excused for 10 consecutive days in case of emergency (2) 15, and completed 6th grade if services needed
Virginia.....	8–12	16 weeks	5 mos.	If able to read and write
Wyoming.....	7–14	Entire session	3 mos.	District Board may excuse "persons to whom it might work a hardship"

TABLE A–2

STATES MODIFYING PROVISIONS OF CHILD LABOR LAWS AS APPLIED TO AGRICULTURE

(Excluding Regulation of Hours of Work—See Separate Report)

State	Nature of Exemption	Net Result
Alabama	Agriculture exempted from prohibition of children uuder 14 working in any gainful occupation	No restriction whatever outside of school hours for any age
California	Exempts from child labor law provisions employment of minors at agricultural, horticultural or viticultural labor during time public schools are *not* in session or during other than school hours	No restriction outside of school hours for any age
Colorado	Exempts employment of children in any fruit orchard, garden, field or farm, but children under 14 working for other than parents must receive permit from Supt. of Schools	No restriction in or out of school hours; this exemption apparently applies to prohibition of employment of children under 14 in gainful occupations during school hours
Delaware	Exempts farm work from prohibited employment under 14	No restriction whatever for any age
Indiana	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction for any age, outside of school hours
Louisiana	Exempts agricultural pursuits from occupations prohibited under 14	No restriction for any age
Missouri	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction for any age
Nevada	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of employment for boys under 14 and girls under 16	No restriction outside of school hours
New Jersey	Exempt agricultural pursuits from industries forbidden to children under 14	No restriction
New York	Permits boys 12 to gather produce 6 hours a day outside of school hours	
	Permits children whose parents are engaged in farming to work for parents outside of school hours	No restriction outside of school hours

TABLE A-2—*Continued*

State	Nature of Exemption	Net Result
North Carolina. .	Ruling of State Child Welfare Commission exempts farming from child labor law. State Board of Education may prescribe rules under which teachers, principals and superintendents may excuse non-attendance due to immediate demands of farm in certain seasons of year	No restriction
Pennsylvania . . .	Exempts "children employed on the farm" from 14 year prohibition	No restriction outside of school hours
Rhode Island . . .	Exempts agriculture from occupations prohibited under 14	No restriction
Texas	Exempts agriculture from occupations prohibited under 15	No restriction
Washington	Exempts farm work from prohibition of work for males under 14 and females under 16 without permit	No restriction. Supt. can give permit even for school hours
West Virginia. . .	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction outside of school hours
Wisconsin	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction

TABLE A-3

STATES INCLUDING AGRICULTURE IN CHILD LABOR LAW RESTRICTIONS

(Other than Table B)

State	Provisions
Arkansas*	Under 14, any remunerative occupation prohibited

* The State Commissioner of Labor, in reply to a question, says: "The Arkansas child labor law does not apply to domestic and farm labor." The language of the statute does not indicate any such exception; nevertheless the exception seems to be generally understood.

TABLE B

STATES DEFINITELY FORBIDDING EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN ANY GAINFUL OCCUPATION DURING SCHOOL HOURS

State	Age under which prohibited	Minimum term	Comment
Alabama	14	100 days	
Arizona	14	8 months	
California	14	6 "	
Connecticut	14	9 "	
Idaho	14	7 "	
Illinois	14	7 "	Not only during school hours, but "any portion of any month" when schools are in session
Indiana	14	6 "	
Kansas	14	7 "	
Kentucky	14	6 "	"During any part of the term during which" public schools are open
Maine	15	7½ "	
Maryland	14	9 "	Unless child has completed requirements of compulsory attendance law
Massachusetts	14	8 "	
Minnesota	14	5 "	"During any part of term during which" public schools are open
Montana	14	4 "	
Nebraska	14	7 "	
Nevada	14	6 "	
New York	14	9 "	"Any part of term the public school is in session." *Except* boys over 12, 6 hours a day, in gathering produce, outside of school hours. *Except* children of persons engaged in agriculture, outside of school hours
North Dakota	14	7 "	
Ohio	15	7 "	
Oregon	16	8 "	Unless 8th grade completed
Pennsylvania	14	7 "	"During term of compulsory attendance and hours public schools are in session."
South Carolina	14	3 "	Unless compulsory attendance requirement completed
South Dakota	15	6 "	
Tennessee	14	None	
Washington	15	6 months	Unless permitted by Supt. of Schools
West Virginia	14	6 "	

TABLE C

REGULATION OF HOURS CHILDREN MAY BE EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE

State	Hours	Comment
Alabama	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Arizona	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Arkansas*	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16 years	All remunerative occupations
California	Under 16—8 hour day, 48 hour week	Any gainful occupation
	16–18—No restriction	Definite exemption
Colorado	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Connecticut	No restriction	
Delaware	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 54 hour week
Florida	No restriction	
Georgia	No restriction	
Idaho	9 hour day, 54 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Illinois	8 hour day, 6 day week under 14	Any occupation
	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Indiana	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week for children under 16; an even 9 hour day, 54 hour week for children under 16 whose parents consent
Iowa	No restriction	
Kansas	No restriction	
Kentucky	No restriction	
Louisiana	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 60 hour week
Maine	No restriction	
Maryland	No restriction	
Massachusetts	No restriction	
Michigan	No restriction	
Minnesota	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation

* See Table A–3.

TABLE C—*Continued*

State	Hours	Comment
Mississippi	No restriction	
Missouri	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Montana	No restriction	
Nebraska	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16—beet fields	No regulation for other agricultural work
Nevada	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
New Hampshire	No restriction	Definite exemption from 11 hour day, 58 hour week
New Jersey	No restriction	Definite exemption from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. prohibitory clause
New Mexico	No restriction	
New York	6 hour day, boys over 12, gathering produce outside of school hours	No restriction for other work
North Carolina	No restriction	
North Dakota	8 hour day, 48 hour week	Any gainful occupation
Ohio	No restriction	
Oklahoma	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Oregon	8 hour day, under 16, any occupation	
Pennsylvania	9 hour day, 51 hour week, under 16	Any occupation
Rhode Island	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 54 hour week
South Carolina	No restriction	
South Dakota	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day
Tennessee	No restriction	
Texas	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 54 hour week
Utah	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Vermont	No restriction	
Virginia	No restriction	
Washington	No restriction	
West Virginia	No restriction	
Wisconsin	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Wyoming	No restriction	Definite exemption from 9 hour day, 56 hour week

OUTLINE OF HEALTH PROVISIONS FOR STATE LAWS RELATING TO CHILDREN

A report to Children's Code Commissions and others interested in child welfare and health legislation, by the Advisory Committee to the National Child Health Council on Health Provisions for Laws Relating to Children.*

FOREWORD

Inasmuch as health is of paramount importance to child life and as it has often received minor consideration in State Children's Codes, the Committee on Health Provisions for Laws Relating to Children wishes to emphasize the need for adequate treatment of this subject by all states. The following are points which should be borne in mind:

I—Prenatal Care

A—State Children's Code Commissions should recommend the removal of all legislative restrictions which prevent proper and complete measures for prenatal and maternity care and the granting of positive legislative authority for undertaking and promoting such measures. (Note: Examples of legislative restrictions that should be removed are such limitations as to tax rates or levies as make it impossible to provide adequate appropriations for the care of the health of mothers and children. Also in some states local authorities are not permitted to undertake certain important measures unless these are specifically authorized by statute. Such general legislative

* The committee consists of the following members: Chairman, Courtenay Dinwiddie, Executive Secretary, National Child Health Council, Washington, D. C.; Secretary, James A. Tobey, Assistant Director, Department of Health Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.; Richard A. Bolt, M.D., General Director, American Child Hygiene Association, Baltimore, Md.; E. Dana Caulkins, Manager, National Physical Education Service, Washington, D. C.; Taliaferro Clark, M.D., Medical Officer in Charge of Field, Investigations in Child Hygiene U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.; Edward N. Clopper, Field Director, National Child Labor Committee, New York, N. Y.; Anna E. Rude, M.D., Director, Division of hygiene, Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Willard S. Small, Ph.D., Specialist in School Hygiene, Bureau of Education, Dept. of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

restrictions which prevent necessary health measures are apt to be overlooked in drafting health and welfare legislation.) Facilities for the education of expectant mothers, for the establishment of prenatal health centers and clinics, for the protection of expectant mothers in industry, and for the health supervision of mothers, should be definitely authorized by law.

II—Care at Birth

A—*Midwives*

State laws should require that all midwives be licensed by the State Health Department for the purpose of permitting only those who are properly qualified, to practise midwifery, and that adequate provision be made for proper supervision by state or local health authorities of all such midwives, to see that they observe all regulations, subject to revocation of their licenses. Educational training for obstetrical attendants and midwives should be authorized only where the facilities for training are adequate and there is proper educational and health supervision.

B—*Control of Ophthalmia Neonatorum ("Babies Sore Eyes")*

Every State Health Department should be specifically authorized by law to require the immediate reporting of all inflammatory conditions of the eyes of the new born, to require treatment of the eyes of the new born at birth, and to furnish the prophylactic for this purpose, for the prevention of blindness. (Note: Experience has shown that the law should describe this disease rather than simply refer to it by its technical name.)

C—*Vital Statistics*

The law should require the prompt reporting of births by the professional attendant to local registrars of vital statistics not later than three (3) days after birth. Registrars should be under the health department. Legislation requiring the reporting of still births is important.

D—*Supervision of Maternity Homes*

All institutions in which mothers are given care during or near confinement should be licensed, subject to the periodic inspection and approval of health authorities.

III—Infant and Pre-School Care

A—Legislative restrictions should be removed and definite legislative authority granted so that adequate facilities for protecting and promoting the health of infants from birth to the beginning of school age can be provided by state and local authorities. (Note: The type of legislation necessary for this purpose, with reference to babies, pre-school children and mothers, is indicated under Paragraph 1–A, which deals with the prenatal period.)

B—*Control of Milk and Milk Products*

There should be legislation requiring the general pasteurization of uncertified milk, the supervision of such pasteurization, and such other regulation and supervision of the production, handling and preservation of milk and milk products as will insure a safe supply.

IV—Care of Children in School

A—*Health Education*

There should be legislation providing for the instruction and training of all children of school age, for the purpose of developing health habits through supervised physical activities, free play, and practical instruction in hygiene, including personal hygiene, nutrition and sanitation.

Adequate provision should be made for the promotion of health education by the states in cooperation with local communities.

Provision should be made for the instruction and training of all teachers in the fundamental principles of health education.

(Note: Such legislation should allow scope for the development of initiative, spontaneity and responsibility on the part of the child. Rigid and uniform courses of physical drill or of hygienic instruction should not be prescribed but rather there should be the normal stimulation of the child's physical development and the interweaving of health education into all the many subjects of which it naturally forms a part.)

B—*Physical Examinations and Health Supervision*

There should be state legislation making it possible for counties, municipalities and townships to provide facilities for periodic physical examinations and for promoting the health of school children.

The appropriate state authorities should be authorized to promote the development of such facilities. (Note: The type of legislation necessary for this purpose is indicated under Paragraph 1–A.)

It should be required that the health supervision of school children be closely correlated with the health supervision of babies and pre-school children.

C—*Health Classes for Special Groups*

Legislation should authorize facilities for the training and instruction of special groups which by reason of disabilities are unable to receive adequate education and health supervision in the regular classes.

D—*Sanitation of School Houses and Their Environment*

School buildings, school grounds and accessories should be regularly inspected and supervised as to sanitary conditions, subject to the regulations and jurisdiction of the health authorities.

V—Children in Industry

A—*Physical Supervision and Health Education*

As long as a child is of school age he should receive health education and supervision. (Note: Experience shows that the continuation school offers an effective medium of health education and supervision.) Physical examinations should be given when he leaves school to go to work, at each change of occupation, and periodically thereafter while he is of school age.

VI—General

A—*Administration*

In each state there should be a bureau of child hygiene. The administration of all legislative provisions affecting the health of children, except those which properly pertain to other state agencies, should be vested in this bureau. The work of such other agencies and that of the bureau of child hygiene should be properly coordinated.

B—*Control of Institutions and Agencies*

All public and private institutions, agencies, courts, and boarding homes caring for dependent, defective or delinquent children should be required by law to have adequate health supervision over their work and wards, subject to the regulations of the health authorities.

All measures dealing with the appropriation and expenditure of funds for material relief in connection with child or maternity care should specifically make provision for adequate care of the health.

WHAT IS CHILD LABOR?

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

Mention child labor and nine persons out of ten will instantly conjure up the picture of a little, pale-cheeked, flat-chested, stooped-shouldered ten-year-old girl in a southern cotton mill. It must be a cotton mill and it must be a southern mill; nothing else will satisfy our conception of child labor, and yet such conditions in cotton mills, South, North, East or West, are no longer found. How steadfast we are in our devotion to old ideas in the face of new developments! We not only revere the past, we cherish it, and are loath to give it up. I do not mean that all southern mill owners are convinced of the folly of premature child labor; there are a few no doubt who would welcome back the old days of exploitation and who justify their attitude on the ground that, because of the difference in climate, children mature in the South at an earlier age than in the North. This has always reminded me of the lobster fisherman on the Maine Coast; a state law of Maine prohibits the taking of lobsters measuring less than ten inches in length, but down in Massachusetts they may be taken if only eight inches in length. I have been told that fishermen on the Maine Coast sell their legal catch in Maine, and then sail down to Boston Harbor with the eight- and nine-inch lobsters where they find a ready market. When asked how they reconcile their consciences to such a proceeding, they cock a canny eye at one, smile whimsically, and say: "Well, you know the young mature so much earlier in the South than they do in the North."

After all there is, comparatively, but little child labor in the mills and factories of this country. There is, comparatively, but little in the stores. Decade after decade the United States government tells us in its reports of the census that the great majority of the child laborers of this country are on the farms, and decade after decade we glance at the figures and think no more about them. Instead, we turn unfalteringly to the symbol we have set up in

our minds—this fetish of the haggard child in the southern cotton mills. Our pet symbols soothe our lazy minds when we are threatened by consideration of anything profound. The *dolce far niente* of thought is as insidious and pleasing as—well, as opium.

The census figures on occupations for 1910 were published four and a half years after they were gathered and while they were then of considerable historical interest, their value as representing actual conditions was but slight, for conditions are not so obliging as to stay unchanged for four and a half years while clerks are compiling the data. On the face of the returns it was shown that in April, 1910, about seventy-two per cent. of all the child laborers in this country were in agriculture—a kind of work to which no labor laws apply and concerning whose effects upon the health of children nothing is known. Long ago we standardised our ideas of farm life as wholly delectable and hence we assume that because these children are in the great outdoors their condition is necessarily fortunate. We are told that hundreds of thousands of these young farm laborers were working for persons other than their parents. Were they being exploited? Have the hundreds of thousands who since 1910 have labored in this way, also been the victims of mistreatment? We don't know.

We do know that child labor on farms interferes seriously with schooling. The National Child Labor Committee's studies have shown that it causes as much absence from rural schools as illness, bad weather, bad roads, distance from home to school, and indifference all combined—and sometimes even exceeds the absences caused by all these other factors. The enforcement of compulsory attendance laws in rural school districts is notoriously poor throughout the land. No one section of the country can justly point the finger of scorn at any other section because of its sin in this respect, for one's sin is as great as another's. No law restricts or regulates farm work by children; the only laws that relate to the subject in any way are the compulsory school attendance acts, and they apply only in school hours, and are but little respected.

We do not know when we shall have the census report on occupations for 1920, but when it is published, we shall not be able to compare the figures relating to child labor with those for 1910 so far as activities on farms are concerned, because the census of 1910 was taken in April—when farm operations were getting under way

—whereas that of 1920 was taken in January—when they were practically everywhere at a standstill. Wherefore we may expect a great decrease in the number of child farm laborers reported. This is, of course, unfortunate, because the figures will not represent conditions in agriculture and we shall be more at sea than ever regarding this uncharted Sargossa of rural child labor.

We all talk glibly of child labor and yet I dare say that none of us has a clear idea of what it is. The standardised image of the southern cotton mill spinner paralyses our thought. What is child labor? If we go into a factory and see a boy at work, we say to the manufacturer that we are surprised to find him an employer of child labor. "Why!" he exclaims, "that is not child labor. That boy is learning something useful. He is being trained and disciplined and is preparing himself to meet the responsibilities of life in the years to come. Moreover, his earnings are needed at home and he has the satisfaction of contributing to the support of his family."

If we go to a store and see a girl at work, we say to the merchant that we are surprised to find him an employer of child labor; and he says: "Why, that is not child labor. That girl is learning something useful. She is being trained and will take her place later on as a more responsible member of our force. Moreover, her family is poor and needs her earnings."

We see a ten-year-old boy selling newspapers on the street, and we go to the newspaper office and protest to the proprietor, saying that street trading is a bad form of child labor. And the proprietor says: "Why, that work is not undesirable, it's the best kind of training. That child is being schooled in the ways of business competition. His wits are being sharpened. He will be a better man because of his experience. And moreover, his earnings are needed at home."

Go to the farmer, speak to him about his own child or the child he has hired, who is working in his field, and the same reply is made. You and I are no different in this respect; we go to the orphan asylum and take the poor little girl away with us "to give her a good home" where she will wash the dishes and do the housework, and in other ways satisfy our demand for cheap labor—we are just as culpable as other child labor employers, as the manufacturer, the merchant, the newspaper proprietor, and the farmer, and

we justify just as lustily the particular kind of exploitation which serves our own selfish interests.

You will observe that the manufacturer, the merchant, the newspaper proprietor, the farmer, and we ourselves, all agree as to what child labor is *not*. We all insist that child labor is not training for usefulness, nor healthful discipline, nor character building, nor in any way developmental. We all agree that child labor is something that does not offer the advantages that children should have; and out of this general agreement as to what child labor is not, we may frame a definition of what it is. So I venture to define it as the employment of a child under eighteen years of age at any task, with or without pay, under direction or independently of others, which deprives him of his proper measure of schooling, training, recreation, and healthy development.

But here it must not be thought that all work by children should be prohibited—some work is proper and, indeed, is essential to full development. Whatever a child does is part of his education—it may be good education or bad education, but in any case it is likely to have a lasting effect and should be adapted to his needs and best interests. Raymond G. Fuller holds that child work is one thing and child labor is another; that the one is desirable, and the other undesirable. If we think of *child work* as connoting occupations which under suitable restrictions are advantageous to children, and of *child labor* as connoting those which are disadvantageous, we can draw a fairly sharp line between the two. Perhaps it would be clearer if we say that child work is educative while child labor is exploitative. By exploitative I mean, of course, serving the interests of the employer at the expense of the child. Work has both good and bad features. So has schooling. Neither is wholly advantageous. The child will be helped most when his work and his schooling are so adjusted that he will enjoy the good of each and suffer least from its evils. Work alone cannot adequately educate the child; neither can school. It is only through a union of their good features *in education* that the full development of the child can be assured. I emphasize the phrase *in education*, for this is the crux of the matter; the possible needs of industry have no place in such a program. When work kills the revivifying spirit of creative effort, when the joy of achievement is taken away, when the task is reduced to a mere mechanical repetition of a weary-

ing process, it becomes labor of the worst kind. When we dull the sensibilities of a child and strike down his hands as he reaches out for better things, we commit a far greater crime than when we are unmindful of his physical wellbeing. Education and training must feed the spiritual flame—not snuff it out. It flickers in every child, burning low in some and rising high in others, but whether bright or feeble its passing would be a calamity. All of us hold the complete welfare of the child as an ideal—an ideal toward which we struggle and strive; conditions will change, of course, and through all the hurly-burly of the conflicting interests involved, we must try to fix our thoughts uncompromisingly upon this supreme desideratum. We cannot accomplish much ourselves, but we can add a little, according to our ideas, to the sum total of human happiness. Our achievement may be slight but it is none the less worth while. Du Maurier, no doubt, had this in mind when he said that everything, everywhere, seems to be an ever-deepening, ever-broadening stream that makes with inconceivable velocity for its own proper level where perfection is—and ever gets nearer and nearer, and never finds it and, fortunately, never will.

PINKIE: THE LITTLE COTTON-PICKER*

JOHN F. SMITH

I

Pinkie's father was always behind. That means he was always in debt to his landlord. He belonged to that very large class of one-mule tenant croppers who are forced early every spring to sign papers that mortgage away their crops long before they even break ground to plant them. They must have bacon, bread, coffee, clothing, and mule-feed; they want tobacco, ribbons, chewing gum, and other indulgences, but before the landlord will sell to them or "stand for them" at the country stores they must sign the papers, though it takes the bread from their babies' mouths, keeps the winter shoes from their little feet, and deprives them of their only cows that supply their babies with milk.

The landlord sees to it that the papers are signed either with name or crossmark, and he furthermore sees to it, as a rule, that the amount he "stood for" comes out of the crop before any of it can go for shoes, dresses, ribbons, or anything else for the personal use of the cropper. Such is the tenant system for the very poor throughout the Southland, and it applies to white and negro alike. It guarantees the rent to the landlord and it insures poverty and discouragement to the renter. The latter really signs away his freedom. He binds himself out for a season for bread and clothes for himself and his family. And if by chance the bread-winner is taken away by malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, or some other killing disease the widow in her extreme is often reduced to the plow and must sign away her prospects just as her husband did before her.

The pernicious effects of this system are often seen in another direction. It affords an opportunity for much high-handed hypocrisy on the part of the land-owners. The landlord or his agent

*This is the first part of the third article by Prof. Smith in his series, "How the Other Half Lives in the Open Country."

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weighs or measures the crop, appraises its quality and value, and buys it himself. He often "runs" the neighborhood store where the tenant trades, and sets the price the tenants must pay. Thus is he exposed to a twofold temptation: to employ short weight or shallow measure, and to inflate prices. There's many an entry made in daybooks and ledgers that only the "experienced" landlord can explain to the hard-pressed renter.

Old Steve was a landlord who always got his pay. Pinkie's father after wandering from farm to farm for fifteen years had taken a shack and rented a crop on Old Steve's place. He was perhaps no worse off here than he would have been elsewhere, for go where he might and work as hard as he would he was almost certain to come out behind at the end of the year. He had "pinched" and denied himself and suffered so many reverses that he had little heart to try to lay by anything for the future.

"Work and save as I may," he declared to a neighbor one day, "'pears lak I never can git nothin' laid up. 'Bout the time I'm a-gittin' things in good shape Winnie" [his wife] "gits sick, or one of the children has a spell, or the crap falls short, or sumpum. An' I cain't work lak I used to; 'pears lak I hain't got the strenk I once had."

Winnie, Pinkie's mother, was a good soul and would have been strong and attractive if she had had a chance. The one thing that enslaved her and sapped all her strength was babies. Sixteen years had she been married, and ten babies had been born, nine of them still living. One of them had been "put away" in an old graveyard "down on Flynt," but Winnie had never forgotten those big black eyes and that fair round face.

"Ever' time one of my babies is about to be borned 'pears lak I can see them two big black eyes jest a-lookin' an' a-laughin' at me from some whur—bless his little heart."

Winnie had no time for anything else besides the babies and the housework. Being numbered with the very poor she could not afford servants. Only so much of her housework was done as she herself with the help of her small children could do. The condition of her health made strenuous work impossible, for she had rarely recovered from bringing one baby into the world before she discovered that she had to make plans to take care of another one. The strain was proving more than even her once strong body could

endure and she was breaking under it—breaking at thirty-one, with nine little mouths to feed, the eldest being scarcely old enough to be entrusted with the care of the household.

She had never had proper care either before or after the birth of her babies. There was never a physical examination, not even a consultation with a doctor. Only one birth had been attended by a doctor—that was when Old Marg, the midwife, had broken her wrist and couldn't come. It was work, work, work among hungry and fretting little ones up to the very day of confinement, and when the new baby was ushered into the home there was no nurse to care for it and the other children. The mother even in her weakened condition had to do it all. Meals had to be prepared and the house had to be kept in order—and there was no one else to do it. Many a day she was up and going when she ought to have been in bed. David, the father, brought the water and made the fires in the stove for a few days after the newcomer arrived, and Old Angeline, the negro neighbor woman, would run in every day or two "to see dat new baby an fin' how it's gittin' 'long." She always made it a point to do a bit of washing and sweeping before she went away.

"Mis' Winnie, I des cain't stay way fum a baby. Looks lak I ain't got a bit o' sense 'bout a baby. Soon as I heah 'bout one I des wants to go an' see it."

But the old woman always managed to beg for something before she went away. It might be an old dress, a hat, a young pullet, or a "settin' of aigs," or a "mess of greens"—and she usually got it, for she did make herself useful when she "run in."

Pinkie was number four in point of chronology, one brother, one sister, and the pair of big black eyes having preceded her. Her coming was attended by Old Marg, who arrived in the nick of time as she always did, with scissors, camphor, and mutton "taller." There were no extra night-dresses for the mother,—just an old calico wrapper and a pair of sheets.

How do the poor often suffer for want of the commonest things of life! Those who have never been in the homes of the lowly can have little idea of the privations that exist there. No time of life reveals this poverty and want more than at the birth of a child. The father at no time makes provision for a sick room or for extra clothing for the sick bed. The clothing worn by day is also worn

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at night. "Nighties" and pajamas and sleeping "supers" are in thousands of homes unknown. Only the country doctor and the visiting nurses—when there are any—and a few others know of these conditions that exist so widely among the poor and lowly.

The simple unskilled attentions of the midwife who plies her art according to traditions rather than according to modern medical advice is often the only force that intervenes between the mother and death. Oftentimes this frail bulwark doesn't suffice, and death wins in the lottery. Or if the simple, homely devices cheat him of his prey, for he always hovers close on such occasions to snatch a life away, the child often comes into the world maimed and leaves the mother an invalid for life. What tragedies are enacted at times in the stilly hours of night behind cabin doors while the prosperous world is happily asleep! At such times only the voices of the night, the groans of a suffering mother, and the cries of a newborn babe disturb the stillness. It is only a little sphere which is thus disturbed. Cries and groans do not carry far among the habitations of work-a-day men. But who knows how patiently and tenderly they are listened to by a loving Being whose presence is everywhere at all times even in the humblest homes where the lowly cottagers dwell?

But there was no accident at Pinkie's birth. Everything went well—as well as things could go with a poor mother who never knew the soothing effects of an anaesthetic during her descent into the uncertainty of childbirth. Three or four neighbor women had come to give help and advice, but Old Marg took command and assigned them to their proper places. She seemed meek enough about her own home, but when a new life was to be welcomed she took command and those who failed to carry out her orders were promptly given to understand that they were not wanted.

David sat in the lean-to abashed and nodding. The children had been sent to spend the night with a neighbor. He was suddenly aroused by Old Marg, who burst into the room holding a bandaged bundle in her hands and exclaiming,

"Hah, hah, hah-h-h, David! jes' look here an' see yore little new darter! She's as purty as a pink an' as peart as a cricket. She'll be the best lookin' gal you got. Jes' look at her; I b'lieve she knows you already. 'Pon my honor I b'lieve she does. Fetch the scales, David, an' le's see how much she weighs."

David felt much relieved when he stept out to the smoke-house shed to get the steelyards (commonly called "stilyerds" by the cotton pickers). When he returned with the scales with a sort of half grin on his face, Old Marg was supporting the newcomer with a "hippin' " tied up at the four corners. When the upper hook was put over a piece of rope fastened to the joist and the precious burden was attached, Old Marg threw her head far back in order to see the beam through her steel-rimmed spectacles.

"Well, dog-my-cats, David, if she don't draw pime-blank, leb'm pounds. Look, Sissie, see thar—the P stands at leb'm pounds to a T."

Sissie looked, but if it had stood at a ton it would have been all the same to her. She could no more read the figures on the scale-beam than she could translate an inscription in ancient Arabic. And besides, her eyes were so badly crossed that everything in the dim light of the chimneyless lamp was in a sort of blur. Nevertheless she corroborated Old Marg's testimony that "the P stood at leb'm pounds persactly," though poor David with two good eyes experienced in weighing cotton on those same scales could not for the life of him make out more than seven and a half pounds. But David had learned to be discreet at times, so when the "hippin' " was unhooked he took the scales back to the shed and allowed Old Marg's statement to go abroad unchallenged.

Old Angeline dropped in next morning "to sweep de flo' an' see dat new baby." At the first peep she exclaimed, "Lawsy, Mis' Winnie, dat's de purtiest chile ever I see in all my life"—a compliment she paid all the babies she saw. Then she added with a chuckle, "But Mis' Winnie, reckon whur she gits it all?"

Old Angeline was not satisfied till she had the baby in her hands and "jigged" it on her knees. "W'y, good lan', Mis' Winnie, dis chile don' feel lak it weigh no lebbum pounds. My little Jase weigh nine, an' dis chile's lots littler den what he wuz." She had not learned how to be tactful. She usually said what she thought, and she frequently thought pretty accurately. She had the right to be considered an authority on the weight of babies for she had given birth to no fewer than seventeen pickaninnies—"eight of um ready for de grave when dey wuz borned, pore little things."

David went about his duties next morning as usual. It was in late autumn and he had many cares about the house and the

fields. He loved the new baby—and accepted her arrival as he would accept a thunder storm or a day of bright sunshine. He belonged to that very large army of fathers who consider it a religious duty to rear large families. They take the injunction, "Be fruitful and multiply," to mean just what it says in English and to be applicable to themselves. The health of their wives and the welfare of their children are not always considered—hence the attitude, and the large number of children found in so many very poor homes.

The years passed and the children grew and increased in number. David spent the time in moving, and chopping cotton, and sledding-in the winter supply of wood, in doing the thousand and one things that the one-mule cropper finds to do, until Pinkie was "goin' on leb'm." It was at this time that the family moved to Old Steve's place. Mabel was nearly fifteen, was large for her age, and was a most beautiful girl.

"Dadblast if that ain't a mighty purty gal you got, Dave," remarked Old Steve one day, and David, Mabel, and Winnie all felt flattered by the attention. "She'll be a fine lady one of these days before you know it, an' you'll have a hard time keepin' her in the coop."

As he rode his fine black saddler away he said to himself, "I'll keep Dave on the place so I can keep a weather-eye on that gal. She's a reg'lar little sun-peearch."

It should be said here that Old Steve belonged to that class of landlords,—a comparatively small group, be it known—who have large tracts containing many farms and who prefer renters with pretty daughters. He was by no means a saint, and for a good many years had taken an especial interest in the young women folks around him. Various tales were afloat about some of his antics, and these rumors were founded on facts. More than one tenant had left the place before crops were gathered because the angry father essayed to complain too vigorously about the landlord's attentions to his daughter. Such complaints Old Steve would not tolerate for a moment. He was master of himself and his conduct, "drove bull-yearlin's with a snake-whup, looked at a purty gal onct in a while, took liquor when he felt like it an' voted the straight Democratic ticket." What he did was nobody's "dummed business." Whenever a renter presumed to assert his

own rights he was promptly told to "git out," and he usually moved at the first warning.

Old Monk Dan'l lived not far away, and though he was "jest a bit quair," was "not all the durned fool he was cracked up to be." He had a lame knee purchased years before by letting a hatchet slip while cutting bean-sticks, and always walked with a limp—Old Angeline called it a "hitch-up in his git-a-long." Monk said to a neighbor as they exchanged sobs across the field fence one day, "Jepp, bust-my-hide if sumpum ortn't to be done about Old Steve an' his foolery. W'y, Jepp, the woods-colts air a-gittin' as thick around his place as rabbits in a clover patch. It's jist gittin' orful, I tell you, an' it's a-gittin' so's a man's gal ain't safe in five miles of Ole Steve an' his boy, 'specially if she's purty."

"Monk," said Jepp, deliberately weighing each word, "I hain't never said nothin' to nobody but Tildy, but I'm sorter oneasy 'bout my oldest gal, Rissie, who's been a-staying' at Ole Steve's for nigh on a year. 'Pears lak she don't take to her pap an' mammy lak she use' to. I don't like the looks of some things. But Monk, by crimeinies, if anything goes wrong with my gal thur's goin' to be hell-an'-damnation to pay, now I tell you. I hain't beholden to Ole Steve, nur to his boy nuther, an' if anything goes wrong with Rissie they'd better both lay mighty danged low."

II

It was not long after this that an incident happened that shocked the whole neighborhood. Rissie came home in disgrace. She talked frankly to her father and mother and told of attentions, houndings, bribes, threatenings, love-makings and promises that led up to the tragedy in her life. Young Steve was to blame for her condition. Jepp said little but prepared to have a settlement with the young man at the first opportunity.

Young Steve's arrogance was well known. He had often boasted of his relations with pretty girls whose fathers had moved away. Jepp determined to "take him down a few notches."

The two met out in the woods one day when Young Steve was on horseback with a big bull-whip in his hand looking for stray cattle. Old Monk Dan'l was out squirrel-shooting at the time and was sitting behind some bushes near the place waiting for a

squirrel to "turn" on a big poplar tree. He gave the following report of the encounter:

"Jepp wuz walkin' 'long with an axe on his shoulder lookin' for a board tree. Young Steve come ridin' round a curve on his arn gray, an' I guess mebbe would a-passed right by if Jepp hadn't a-stopt 'im. But Jepp got right in the road in front of 'im an' said,' 'I hear ye been a-foolin' 'roun' my gal, Rissie. I want to know what about it.'

"An' young Steve he up an' sez, 'W'y, what the hell is it to you who I fool 'round?"

"But that didn't faze Jepp a bit. So he sez to 'im, 'Well, hit's a right smart to me this time; it's my gal, an' I reckon you'd jist better come across an' explain yoreself.'

"Jist about that time young Steve waved his whup an' as quick as lightnin' he fetched it a jerk an' wrapt the cracker right 'round Jepp's face. Ain't it a wonder he didn't knock his eyes out? I seed sumpum flash right quick-like in Jepp's hand, an' thur wuz two shots from a pistol. I couldn't see whut it wuz Jepp had, it wuz all done so almighty quick, but when I heered the shots I knowed well an' good what had happened.

"Young Steve's horse whirled an' splunged 'round, but the bridle ketched on a lim', an' young Steve fell right smack out'n the saddle like a shot squir'l off'n a lim' an' died with almost never a kick. Jepp unketched the bridle an' got the horse biddible. Then he throwed the reins over the horn of the saddle an' started the arn-gray tow'ds home. Then he 'gun a-talkin' to young Steve, but I 'lowed he wuz dead, plum stiff, dead, 'fore that time. I heered 'im say,

" 'Damned stinkin' dawg! You brought it all on yoreself. You ruined my gal, but I guess you'll never ruin anuther'n'. An' now I got yore old daddy to settle with.'

"I jist couldn't keep still no longer. So I crawled right out from whur I wuz a-settin' behin' the bushes—I'd forgot all about the squir'l—an' as I done that I seed another flash in Jepp's hand. But I said right quick-like so's to let 'im know who I wuz, 'Lord-a-mercy, Jepp, what on airth hev ye gone an' done?'

"An' Jepp he sez, sezzee, 'Here it is. Come an' see for yoreself. I told you t'other day what I'd do if they done anything to my gal, an' now it's settled—partly. They may hang me for it,

but bust-my-hide, Monk, somebody's got to put a stop to this kind o' thing, an' I've started in to do it. I've seed woods-colts around this here place till I'm done sick an' tard of it. An' when my gal come home like she is I couldn't stan' no more of it. It's got so a pore man cain't protect his family with the law, so I've started out to protect my gals an' other folkses' 'round here without a jury.'

"An' then I sez to 'im, 'what air ye goin' to do with the body?'

"An' he sez, jist as cool as a cowcumber, 'I'm a-goin' to set right down here till Old Steve comes 'long a-lookin' for 'im, an' than I'm a-goin' to make him take his medicine.'

" 'Well, lord-a-me, Jepp,' sez I, 'don't go 'long an' kill another man.' Ah' he sez, 'Monk, I ain't a-sayin' what I'm a-goin' a-do tell he comes.' Then he looked at me, quair-like an' sez, 'Now Monk, you got a fam'ly to take keer of. Don't you guess you'd better not be seen about here when he comes; he mought have somebody 'long with 'im.'

"Well, I hadn't thought about that, an' I hadn't thought what people might think an' say if they'd a-come an' found me there with a rifle-gun. Durned ef it didn't like to ontie my brogans. My heart got so dingbanged flippy-floppy that I jist couldn't git away hardly. But I picked up old long Ioy" (his gun) "an' I heeled it from there, now I tell you. I put as shore as you're borned."

But Old Monk didn't "put" very far. For a long time he would not tell what happened next—it was too good a joke on him. But the truth finally leaked out of him, for he couldn't keep such important news very long. He was so curious to see what would happen that he went around a little knoll, hid his rifle under the side of a log and climbed a tree so he could look on unseen. It was thus he witnessed the following scene:—

Old Steve did come following the horse-tracks looking for his son. When he approached the spot where the body lay Jepp stepped out from behind some bushes, covered the old man with his pistol and made him dismount. After talking to him for a short time he made him kneel. Then with the bull-whip which had stung his face so brutally he administered a thrashing that would never be forgotten. That ceremony over, Old Monk heard these words.

"Now dadburn you, you keep yore lip about what's happened here today or I'll fix you like yore boy there. An' don't never let

me hear of you foolin' with a man's wife or daughters agin. You've . . ."

But at that instant the limb on which Old Monk was standing broke and he fell catching and slipping to the ground, making a deal of noise. He at once seized his hat, left his rifle where he had hidden it and didn't stop running till he got home. He reported that a bear had chased him out of the woods and "come mighty nigh gittin' 'im"—and his wife, Drusie, believed him.

Old Steve reported that a horse had thrown his son and killed him. He himself complained for some days of "rumatiz." Jepp disappeared from the neighborhood and was never seen there again.

At length the whole truth came out, and it was this which so stirred the neighborhood. Old Monk told it bit by bit with knowing wink and nod and intimations of more terrible things to come. He finally told it all sitting by David's fireside, and Pinkie and the other children heard all the horrible details. Thus pictures were painted on their memories which they would carry to their graves.

Tens of thousands of children have such pictures painted in all their horrible colors on their tender minds,—pictures which they recount by day and dream about by night until they think in terms of stabbings, killings, shootings, and death struggles. Fathers and mothers often tell tales of these tragedies instead of telling Bible stories and fairy stories to their little ones. Many a father who never heard of Andersen, or Grimm, or Uncle Remus, has a stock of murder stories with which he entertains the family. Hatreds are engendered, prejudices are aroused, and passions are cultivated that often express themselves later in other terrible deeds.

What an opportunity there is for the teachers in our schools from the kindergarten to the university to teach great stories and the art of telling them, the biographies of great men and women, short humorous stories, and poems that appeal to the heart! We need in all our educational institutions, in normal schools in particular, the kind of English that will enable those who teach country children to crowd out the evil stories by substituting the good. The art of story-telling is for much of humanity a lost art, and too many of our institutions are doing too little to revive it. We may always expect to have murderers and perverters of youth and men and women of low ideals among us so long as our children hear so much about "scraps," "squabbles," "rippits," "spats," "rum-

puses," "killings," and other crimes against common law and happy childhood. Ahd they will continue to hear of these things around the fireside until the minds of our youth are filled with stories that will crowd out the objectionable kind. The best place to reform the world is in the school room.

Pinkie's mind was all a-whirl with conflicting ideas. There were some things which she could not reconcile. She had heard about "woods-colts" but she could not get that matter cleared up to her satisfaction. She had asked Mabel, but Mabel threatened to "smack" her for talking about such ugly things. She had asked her mother but got no satisfaction from her. In fact the whole matter of life and birth was worrying her and no one seemed to be able to make things clear—or at least they would not. Finally she asked Old Angeline, and Angeline told her, but told her in a way that put a taint in the little girl's mind that years did not move.

Pinkie was one of the millions of children who have honest questionings about the mystery of life and birth but who never have their questions answered by tactful, chaste-minded persons. They often get wrong ideas about marriage and birth which affect their own characters and conduct in after life. The whole subject is one of those forbidden topics about which many mothers never speak to their young daughters, and as many fathers never mention to their sons. But find out they will, though heaven forbid the manner in which they make the discovery. Unless honest and intelligent answers are given to these questioners by those nearest and dearest to them others will give them and in giving the answers they may contribute to the undoing of noble and beautiful lives.

III

Pinkie and the other children who were old enough worked in the cotton all summer. They chopped from early morning till sundown day after day until late in the season, for even the late weeds must be kept down else they will injure the clean white fibre. The girls went to the field barefoot, and clothed in sunbonnet and one-piece dress. Shoes were never used in the fields, and rarely about the house. Mabel always wore hers on Sunday. but when Monday morning came they were carefully cleaned and put away. Hour after hour they worked in the broiling hot sun till hands, faces,

feet, and even shoulders were tanned a deep brown. Mabel invariably developed a few freckles which greatly annoyed her. She pinned her subnonnet close, and bathed her face frequently with buttermilk, but all to little purpose. Pinkie tanned a beautiful uniform brown and was greatly pleased with it.

There were compensations during these days of hard toil. They lived and worked in the land of the mocking bird, and these delightful songsters were everywhere. There was shrubbery close by—red haw, hackberry, "May trees," redbud, dwarf crab apples, box elder, and other small growth that made the place a paradise for songbirds. From dawn till dark the notes of the mocking bird were heard—heard rarely during the hottest part of the day—and often at night when Pinkie was wakened by one of the babies she could hear the notes of this songster whose tones never fall below the degree of *par excellence*. He never sings badly; it's either a burst of heavenly music or no song at all. His numbers are all in the class with "Moonlight Sonata."

There were other wonderful songsters that filled the air with melody. The children often saw a tiny bluebird—they called it green—sitting on the topmost point of a dead stump or on the top twig of a tree, singing for dear life. Sometimes—usually late in the afternoon—they saw him sail slowly upward with peculiar flapping of wings, singing as he ascended until he reached the crescendo of his song, when he would turn and hasten down again to his perch. They did not know the bunting by name but they loved his cheering song that came at all times during the day, even when the sun was hottest and most of the other songsters were still.

Out in the thickets away from the open field lands other warblers entertained them. One in particular was a bird of many notes and surprises. They rarely saw him but they could hear his notes a long way. Occasionally he could be seen soaring up in most ludicrous fashion "poppin' his wings" and pouring out his quaint notes until the end of the measure was reached, then dropping back to the leafy bush again. Sometimes he, too, could be heard in the dead of night, but always seemingly far away, for the chat is a ventriloquist of marvelous powers and loves to keep those who listen to him under a delusion. Among the others were the red-eyed vireos that whistle all the day, the bluebirds whose warbling notes came from post, dead twig, and knot-hole, the bobwhites

whose piping calls were always good to hear, and the woodthrushes whose morning and evening chants filled all the woods with sweetest melody. There was no song among all the forests and fields which they loved more than the song of the thrush, and they always welcomed the time when his first flute-like notes came from the dim recesses of the ravines and the deeper woods.

But no feathered friends were more welcome than the house martins. There were always clusters of gourds hanging on tall poles erected by David and Billy, the oldest boy, and in these the martins built their nests. They always furnished a world of chatter, good cheer and company. Pinkie loved to hear the male bird gurgle and "pop his teeth" when the female approached the gourd. She talked to her father and mother about them and asked all sorts of questions about them and other things. One Sunday morning this conversation took place between the little girl and her father:

"Pappy, whut you reckon makes him do that a-way?"

"Um, I don' know. Guess it's jest his way of sayin' good mornin'."

"Well, pappy, whut you reckon makes the little green bird sing all day when other birds ain't a-singin'?"

"I don't know, honey. Guess he thinks somebody ought a-keep singin' all the time."

"Well, pappy, whut you reckon makes the flyin' ants all come out on the same day? Reckon how one bunch knows the others are out?"

"Don't know why they do it."

"Well, pappy, t'other day me an' Billy wuz a way down in the swamp huntin' for ole Blos" (the cow) "an' we saw a rabbit settin' on his hin' laigs an' jest a-jumpin' up an' down an' a-pattin' the groun' with his hin' feet. Whut you reckon he wuz a-doin' it for?"

"Guess he wuz jist a-havin' a good time."

"An' pappy, jist yestiddy mornin' when we wuz out a-pickin' dewberries we saw a big hawk a-flyin' over with a great big snake in its claws, an' the ole snake wuz jes a-wigglin' an' a-rattlin'. I bet it wuz a great big rattler. Reckon whut the hawk wuz a-goin' a-do with him?"

"Eat 'im 'spec."

"Pappy, you know we seen some quair little holes down in

the swamp, an' they had little chimbleys of mud built up around um. Reckon whut made um?"

"Crawdads."

"Whut chu reckon they made um for?"

"I don't know, honey."

This was the usual satisfaction which Pinkie got from her father. She had two good eyes and she saw things, and she was always bubbling over with questions. But poor stupid David had eyes that saw not and ears that did not hear. He had a mind that asked few questions and an intelligence that answered fewer. He seemed to think when he thought at all of rents and crying babies, cotton and sleepless nights, of weeds, cutworms, and little shoes. He had no mind for the voices about him other than the voices of Winnie and the children, and the "bawl of a cow an' the squeal of a pig." He read no books, never looked at a newspaper, visited few people, rarely went to church, but lived the narrow, depressing, miserable life of the one-mule cotton cropper and took little interest in anything outside of the "worm-fence" that surrounded his cotton fields. He never went to "the polls" on election day and took no interest in the affairs of the nation. His ambition had been stifled and his spirit had been broken by hard luck and poverty. His whole life interest seemed to center in cotton, pigs, stove-wood, shingles, boards, and children. His mind had stopped growing at seventeen; he was now nearly forty. He had limitations beyond which he never essayed to go. His whole life was in a little circle outside of which he felt exceedingly uncomfortable—like a fish out of the water. He furnished very little inspiration to his children, and to their inquiring minds he ceased to be companionable. They grew away from him because they found his mind barren. They had so often asked him questions that he could not answer that they finally stopped going to him for information. He was conscious of their drifting away and suffered agony because of it. He could not understand why they did not continue to come and ask questions and receive his "I don't know, honey," for an answer.

How many tragedies like this exist among the poor and unlettered the educated world will never know. Many of the educated folk are too far out of touch with the poorest in everyday life to see into the heart of hearts of people like David and Winnie. Courses of study are not made for them, class-room lectures are not prepared

with people like them in view. University extension workers rarely meet them on a helpful level, for the extension workers seem to find them so stupid and uninteresting that they prefer to leave them alone. The workers little dream what tragedies their indifference helps to perpetuate. These poor people who always appealed so strongly to the Man of Galilee, who do the first hard tasks that make it possible for us to have hardwood floors and furniture, cotton goods, vegetables, warm homes, other necessities, these same people who strike the first blows that make our very existence possible, are often passed unnoticed by the very people who are supposed to help them most. The tax-assessor and the sheriff reach them but few other people do. The institution or the organization that adopts a program adapted to reach these unreached folk, lighten their burdens and bring them forth into the light and the larger life will at once commend itself to the most thoughtful people of the land. The fact that tens of thousands of such people remain out of the fold of culture, usefulness, and the larger life is unimpeachable evidence that our educational system does not function successfully when applied to the poor workers of the fields. But it is to be feared that long years will pass and thousands of souls will dwindle away in the dark before educational institutions will break away from traditions and conventional paths and be brave and daring enough to standardize their courses not by what is found in other institutions, but by the actual needs of the poorest and most neglected people in the land.

Or will the time ever come when the plaintive call of the unreached child will be heard by our educators over and above the clamor of the conventionally educated who demand the conventional program based on the very methods that in the past have allowed millions of the poor to live and die outside the pale of the larger and more useful life? If only the Spirit of the Man of Galilee could dwell in the room where our college faculties meet, and if the leaders of thought and action only *knew*, perhaps some things would be different.

PLAY NEEDS AND WORK NEEDS OF CHILDREN*

RAYMOND G. FULLER

One of the chief indictments against child labor is that it deprives children of opportunity to play. We do not, without a little thought, appreciate fully what this indictment means. To rob children of childhood as playtime is to rob them of childhood itself, for as Wood says: "Children love play as all young beings love life, because life is play. The child's life is one of physical, mental and moral development. Development means self-expression, self-expression means activity and activity means play. . . . Children do not play deliberately from ulterior motives; with them it is play for play's sake; play is life, they live to play; they are children because they play." It has been said that "the child who has not played has missed half of life." Rather he has missed childhood, which is more than half of life, since, in Froebel's words, "the whole later life of man, even to the moment when he shall leave it again, has its source in this period of childhood." Waddle says: "The child must play or he cannot become a man." That is, play is *functionally* related to growth and development of body, mind and soul. The values of play are as varied as the values of life. They are values that are not merely values to the child in childhood; they are values that last a lifetime. They are permanent.

When we consider the child labor evil from the physical and physiological standpoint, we have to consider not only the immediate effects but the effects that may not appear until adulthood; then we have to consider the physical and physiological values of play and with reference not only to the immediacy but to the permanency of these values. Childhood is the time for laying up treasures of health and strength to be enjoyed and utilized in later years.

*Some portions of this article are taken from the author's report on Recreation in Tennessee, which constitutes a section of a comprehensive report on child welfare conditions and problems made by the National Child Labor Committee and now in process of publication by the Tennessee Child Welfare Commission.

The building of a strong, healthy body by means of play fortifies against disease and gives power of resistance long, long afterward. Play strengthens and develops the bodily tissues, increases the vaso-motor reactions, stimulates all physiological processes, normalizes the vegetative processes, rids the body of accumulated toxins by oxygenation and elimination. Far more important than any muscular development, or any increase in strength is vitality. Play is vitalizing. It tones up the whole physical system. All these results are assets against the future.

Physical tone conduces to mental tone, physical health to mental health. Play for this and other reasons is favorable to mental health in adulthood; child labor is unfavorable. Most disturbances of personality and mental function, whenever they appear, trace their origin to childhood. The selective draft revealed a host of men with neurotic and neurasthenic symptoms. The number would have been smaller if there had been either less child labor or more childhood play. This fact is due in large part to the difference between play and work in childhood as regards psychic motivation and the demands of racial heredity, as well as to peculiarities in the different environments of play and work. Professor Yerkes writes: "In response to your question—'Does child labor in forms involving physical overwork, nervous overstrain, excessive fatigue, noisy surroundings, monotonous tasks, repression of 'play instincts' or 'work instincts,' issue in defective personality, nervous derangements and mental diseases, appearing in childhood or in later life?'—I should say with assurance and emphasis, 'Yes.' " Edmund C. Sanford, another distinguished student of the mind, writes in a letter that in his opinion a normal childhood would have reduced the percentage of neurasthenic and neurotic conditions uncovered by the draft and says that "in such normal childhood proper play is an important point." Dr. Pearce Bailey, Chief of the Section of Neurology and Psychiatry, Surgeon-General's Office, writing in the *New York Times* of functional nervous disease, says, "Non-medical agencies, such as boys' clubs, boy and girl scouts, settlement agencies, and play-grounds, promise most in the line of prevention."

Work as well as play requires supervision, and for reasons some of which apply to play and some of which do not. Work must

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not be too hard or too continuous. It must not conduce to excessive fatigue or faulty postures or bad motor habits. It must not cause over-development of but one muscle or part, or overstrain the accessory muscles. It must not be carried on amid noisy or insanitary surroundings. On the positive side every operation and task would have to be considered with reference to orthopedic value, the development of muscles and parts, the motor habits favored, the interest evoked and maintained. The educative value of the work would be a prime consideration. Any activity ceases to be educative the moment it becomes monotonous and automatic. Work would also have to be considered with reference to the time and energy it took from schooling and the time it took from play. The values derived from the actual work performed by the child would have to be compared with the values to be derived from full-time schooling on full strength and with the values to be derived from play, plentiful at least and supervised if possible. Work meeting all these tests would be children's work and not child labor—small in amount and leaving abundant time for schooling and play. The proper work-places for supervised work are the home and the school, and not—to use the term generically—the factory, which functions for profit and is little likely in our day and generation to undertake the supervision of children's work in the interest of the child. The supervision of children's play is becoming daily more and more of a reality, but play even without supervision is better than child labor.

So strong is the play impulse that even the child laborer plays. In the midst of rapidly moving machinery, and despite admonitions and warnings, children *will* play. In the country at large, three times as many children as adults, in proportion to the number employed, are victims of industrial accident. This is partly due to the strength, the irrepressibility, of the play impulse. Child laborers may play also after the hard day's work. If children have energy enough to play after long toil, then why not exculpate child labor? Some children don't play after their work; they are too tired. But some do. It may be a bursting forth of the pent-up play impulse, or it may be a quest of relief and relaxation after toil and monotony. The fact that the child has seemingly boundless energy, energy enough to work hard and then to play hard, is apt to

deceive us. Expenditure of energy is not to be regarded, however, solely with respect to the amount which the child is able or willing to expend, but with respect chiefly to the energy that can be spared. Physical growth and development depend on the reserves of energy. If it is to be symmetrical and normal, energy must not be drained to the bottom. The reservoirs must not be emptied.

We may note that much of the play of the child laborer after work is not active physical play, but passive play. Instead of the games of the playground he seeks amusement at the movies or the carnival. His tired and jaded nerves want stimulation. He craves excitement. So it happens that child labor conduces either to an over-strenuous leisure or an over-indulgence in amusements that have about the same effect on his nervous system as drugs—temporary and artificial stimulation, without restoring or increasing the reserves of energy. These amusements are night amusements to a large extent, taking time needed for sleep; many of them are indoors in crowded, stuffy, noisy rooms; they are likely to be furnished by commercialists, whose primary object is money-making, not man-making.

The muscular exercise that a child laborer gets is frequently lauded and work declared to be as good as play in this respect. The *amount* of muscular exercise in child labor may be as great as the amount in play, but it is not likely to be as varied. Certainly a boy will never become an athlete from standing at a loom, or shucking oysters, or delivering packages, or picking berries. The muscular exercise that really develops muscles is not that which is common in factory employment. Dr. Freiberg says on this point: "Exercise is our only means of strengthening the muscles, of encouraging their development, but the building up of a muscle which is actively growing and developing must be accomplished by exercises which are not too severe, which are not too long continued and which are of constantly varying character. Furthermore the muscle which carries out exercise must be given frequent periods of rest, during which it may recover; it should be given an opportunity to build up again that which has been consumed by use." Exercise in the factory that develops all the muscles and parts proportionately is still less common.

Farm work as physical exercise has much to commend it, but

here again a good many facts are often left out of consideration. Says Andress: "The clearing of the forests and the coming in of machinery have revolutionized the modes of muscular activity. The healthful exercise of swinging the axe to fell the trees of the forest, or to clear away the underbrush, is a thing of the past. The vigorous exercise of ploughing among stumps and stones or swinging a scythe in the hayfield is no longer a characteristic of farm life. The ploughs, cultivators, rakes, mowing machines, binders, headers, and other implements convey the farmer over his land and diminish the amount of his physical exercise. The work that the boy does with his hands is frequently pulling weeds, hoeing, or the like. Such work tends to cramp the chest and bring the shoulders forward. If he drives a team he sits on a seat that has no back and assumes a cramped position. Children on the farm may develop considerable muscular strength, but this is becoming less important each year. There is little exercise which develops vital strength, vigor of heart, lungs, and digestion." Curtis says: "Country boys and girls are apt to be round shouldered and flat-chested, with forward-slanting heads. Boys who have done much hard work are usually awkward and clumsy, almost without that grace and suppleness that are characteristic of a child who has been trained through play. Country children generally have more stable nerves than city children. Their digestion is commonly good. But they are apt to be deficient in lung capacity and heart development." All these facts are answers to the hundreds of farmers who take a skeptical or hostile attitude toward play and playgrounds, declaring that their children have all the exercise they need in the work they do. As an argument against play this is no argument at all, not only because the facts are against it, but because play is the life and spirit of childhood, and exercise is only incidental to it. It is psychical, not physical; it is emotional, mental, social.

But farm work does not even give well-rounded development from the physical standpoint alone. In the army camps it was found that city boys excelled country boys in symmetry of body, in quickness and sureness of motion, and in resistance to fatigue, as well as in mental alertness. The disadvantage of country life in all these respects can be overcome best through play and especially supervised play. It is not necessary that farm work for children be entirely abolished, but there is need for supplementary

and corrective activities. There must be available time for play—without it the provision of play facilities and play supervision will not suffice.

The development and cultivation of the so-called social instincts,—gregariousness, loyalty, altruism, co-operativeness—through children's play furnishes valuable preparation for adult work, as well as for adult life as a whole. It enables men to work together more easily and more effectively. It makes *esprit de corps* possible in the factory. Charles Otis Gill, a sympathetic and profound student of country life, declares that one of the chief reasons why it is so hard for farmers to co-operate is the fact that they did not play together enough when they were young. Associative play discovers individuals to one another, educates in the habit of co-operation, educates in the art of co-operation. Play among adults tends to have these effects, but the time of times for bringing out and establishing sociality is the period of childhood. Not only does play have meaning for agricultural production by enhancing individual efficiency and favoring co-operative effort on the economic side of country life, but by contributing to the attractiveness and completeness of country life on its social side, thus helping to check the exodus from the country to the city of much of the best human stock that America produces. Group and team play in childhood has significance, too, with regard to the problem of industrial strife. It initiates the individual into the ethics and amenities of the give-and-take of contest and encourages good sportsmanship. Through such play the individual learns the rules of the game of life and acquires willingness to abide by them. If the rules are unfair the rules may be changed, but the spirit and manner of accomplishing the change will be fair and open and above-board.

Among the instinctive tendencies developed in children's play and strengthened for future use is the play impulse itself. The ability to play is an undoubted asset to the adult worker. He needs it if he is to keep himself at maximum efficiency. He needs it in his leisure. He needs the play habit and the habit of physical exercise that goes with it. An eminent psychologist connected with the Aviation Service during the war relates this experience: "At Blank Field there was a definite requirement made of all officers to

the effect that they must be able to report at the end of each week that they had done 12 units of physical exercise. This was one of the best things I found at any of the aviation fields. If most of these individuals had had a normal play life in childhood, they would have taken their 12 units without any regulation from the commanding officer, and they would not have objected as strongly as they did to the enforcement of this regulation. One of the greatest surprises to me was to hear medical officers complain about having to take this physical exercise. One of them in particular gave me a great deal of trouble later because of his neurasthenia." But over and above the play impulse and the play habit is the play spirit, which represents an attitude towards all endeavor and experience. The spirit of play, as Gulick says, has value as a philosophy of life. Curtis writes in similar vein: "Most of the work of the world might as well be play as work,—it depends entirely on the spirit in which it is done. . . . Perhaps the greatest service that play has to render life is to give it the play spirit in which to do its work. The tragedy of child labor is that too often it kills the spirit of play itself."

It is sometimes the deficiency of the worker and sometimes the deficiency of the job that causes work to be drudgery. Play is its own reward, work not always; but there are many sources of that pleasurableness that makes work play, some of them residing in the work itself, others residing in the man or woman who does the work. The motives of play are various and often complex, and so are the motives of work; the motives of neither can be characterized in any brief formula. No hard and fast line between play and work can be drawn. The likenesses of work and play are at least as significant as their differences. The fundamental industrial problem is a problem of play. What do the workers really want? Leisure for play and recreation—a leisure at once pleasurable and profitable, affording relief from irksome monotony and opoprtunity for self-expression. What else? Not leisure alone, but a chance to play in and through work—self-expressive work. The worker is entitled to work that gives him self-expression or certainly the time and means for self-expression. Otherwise his life is hopelessly flat and stale, otherwise he deteriorates because so few of his powers are used. Not work, but zestless work, cheerless work, is the tragedy of work. The trend of standardized machine industry is against his finding a play interest and play satisfaction in work,

but somehow some of the time he must play, or his balked and thwarted instincts will issue in controversy, clashes, broodings, and fights—in the psycho-pathology of repressed impulses and unfulfilled components of desire—the anarchism and rebellion of the playless worker. It is play—as self-expression—that keeps life sweet. One plays or grows sour.

There are several definite instinctive tendencies that are clearly common to the motivations of both work and play, giving work some of its play interest and giving play some of its virtue as preparation for work. Conspicuous among these is the instinct of contrivance or constructiveness. Its development through play, rather than its catharsis or sublimation, is to be sought. This instinct is widespread in the animal world, among insects, birds and mammals, notably the beaver. It appears early in the life of the human individual. The great variety of block plays shows the interest in construction, as does the boy's desire to play with tools. Toys with which something can be done are more acceptable to a growing boy than completed toys. His curiosity as to the uses of things is related to his interest in the making of things. Doing and making are instinctively satisfying if they have personal meaning in purpose, process and result. They are playful and educative and preparatory to work. They constitute true learning. Walter Prichard Eaton, in reminiscent mood, writes: "I was taught, thank God, to use a saw, a plane, a chisel, when I was but 8 years old, and at 10 I was able to build a 12-foot canvas canoe which really floated and carried me all over Birch Meadow in the flooded spring. Teach a boy really to make something with tools, to make it strong and right, and you have done more to make him happy, to develop him, than you can accomplish in any other way. Give him power to realize his own dreams, not try to supply him with the dreams you think he ought to have." The constructive instinct appears in every boy. In some cases it is strong enough to persist under all circumstances, but in others, where it is not so strong, and where no encouragement is given, the desire fades, and the boy henceforward may be of no use with his hands at making anything. The old craftsmanship has largely gone out of the home and into the factory, where it has been broken up into minute processes performed by a machine-tender, whose monotonous repetition of his

part of the whole process gives him but a remote relation to the finished product; but craftsmanship and the pride of craftsmanship have not entirely passed away, even in the factory, the joy of work well done is still possible, and any married woman will admit that there is something worth while in "a handy man around the house." Moreover, the cultivation of the constructive interest in childhood has mental and moral values of no little account. In child labor it is likely to find little expression; expression is better given to it in the home and the school, and through it play may be combined with children's work.

But constructiveness means more than manual activity, more than making or doing things with the hands. It has reference to accomplishment and the joy of accomplishment. When Veblen said that "man has a taste for effective work and a distaste for futile effort" he was referring to the constructive instinct or what he called the instinct of workmanship. The sense of efficiency and effectiveness gives work something of a play interest and play satisfaction; that is, an attitude toward work that compensates for its menial and grinding features. This attitude should be the possession of every worker,—farmer and business man, mechanic and teacher,—but can be only if the work is well suited to his powers. Child labor stands in the way of a play interest in adult work because it not only lessens vocational efficiency but results in so many round pegs in square holes—vocational misfits.

The child who plays much and well will be able to work much and well. It is sometimes believed that play unfits for work because it is taken to mean idleness or mere diversion. This view springs from the anthropomorphic conception of childhood, according to which the child's mind is the adult's mind in miniature. It is thought that the child should be able to see that difference between play and work which the conditions of adult life suggest—work is real, play is not real; work is serious, play is not serious; work is business, play is pleasure. Play is pleasurable to children, but not pleasure as such; it is the most serious business of life; it is tremendously real. Idleness in the case of children is the exact antithesis of play—it is the lack of play. It does not develop habits of idleness—habits of idleness are encouraged by its absence. It does not develop love of ease—it often involves and welcomes hardship.

Play gives the pleasure of doing the unpleasant and the moral training of overcoming difficulties. It makes the most exacting demands upon patience, perseverance, concentration and skill. It develops, not the qualities of the loafer, the shirker or the quitter, but the qualities needed by the efficient, effective, successful worker.

II

The three principal substitutes for child labor are schooling, play, and suitable work. The school, as an educational institution, has a large responsibility in respect not only of one but of all three of these substitutes.

It has a large responsibility in respect of play. The varied values of play and the functional relation of play to growth, development, education, have been clarified—or, it might almost be said, discovered—by modern child psychology. So now we have the deliberate use of play for educational purposes. But there is danger in this utilitarian view of play. We should not fail to regard play as its own justification; perhaps we should never regard it as a means, a method, an instrument. Certainly the benefits of play come incidentally, from the standpoint of the child's own psychology; and play is a good-in-itself.

The responsibility of the school in regard to play is not limited to the playground. It is not limited to any special place, nor to any special time. It has to do with the whole play life of children.

The play life of children deserves recognition in the school curriculum. Too many educators seem to regard play as merely a means to something other than play—an incentive, a bribe, a school method, a device. They would use play to get children to learn and study, or to afford relaxation. Junius L. Meriam takes a different view. He says that play merits a place in the curriculum strictly upon a principle which he states as follows: "The curriculum should be selected directly from real life and be expressed in terms of the activities of people. The function of the school should be to help boys and girls do better in all their activities that are normal and wholesome. Play is one of the normal and wholesome activities of children." But, it will be objected, children do not need to be taught to play. True, but they do need to be taught how to play.

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"It must not be overlooked," says Meriam, "that the spirit of play and the means and manner of playing are two very different things. . . . There is great need that the means and manner of playing be improved. Such a need gives opportunity and responsibility to the school." Meriam is speaking of *education in school for the play life of children.* The curriculum should serve play; not play, the curriculum. Play should not be regarded as an aid to schooling; schooling should be regarded as an aid to play, which is a part of the natural, normal life of children. The service of real education is to enable individuals to live well—fully and efficiently—in the present. If this service is adequately performed in childhood, adulthood will very largely take care of itself.

Children have work needs as well as play needs and these, too, should be served by the school. In considering them we come upon some fundamental distinctions. One relates to the difference between play and work, another to the difference between child labor and suitable children's work, and a third to the difference between vocational needs and work needs. Psychological research into the bases and implications of these differences presents an important and as yet little developed field. The psychological difference between work and play has received considerable attention and has been stated variously according to the terminology of various schools of psychology. The racial-inheritance psychologists state it in language which, though valid enough within limits, is not sufficiently serviceable for the purposes of the inquiry suggested. Patrick, of whom Stanley Halls says that he has "the clearest conception of any one I know of the nature of play," has a conception which leads to the conclusion that in a psychological sense children *cannot work.* The same thing is implied in most of the other current conceptions of play and work. This the present writer does not believe. Without discussion or argument as to the psychological ability of children to work let us assume that play and work together do comprise the active occupations of children, that children work as well as play, and that the work they do is not necessarily, in all cases, child labor. Probably the work that is farthest from child labor partakes largely of the nature of play, but let us omit discussion or argument on that point. Let us pass to the distinction between child labor and suitable children's work. Child labor we may regard as non-education, not only because it

stands in the way of schooling but because its antithesis, which is not play but children's work, is developmental and educative while child labor is not. Let us take "development" and "education" as if they applied only to the mind. And then let us draw a distinction between vocational needs and work needs. The child's work needs have to do with his present life as a child; his vocational needs, with his future adulthood. They are psychological rather than sociological.

In considering the work needs of children we consider the child, not industry. Our vocational education suffers from the pressure and domination of the industrial institution; and the industrial institution does not exist for the satisfaction of children's needs. Says Helen Marot: "The institution of industry rather than institution of education, dominates thought in industrial education courses. It is the institution of industry as it has affected the life of every man, woman and child, which has inhibited educational thought in conjunction with schemes for industrial schools. No established system of education or none proposed is more circumscribed by institutionalized thought than the vocational and industrial school movement." The vocational education of today is as far from meeting the needs of children as children as the older traditional education. Just as the latter has overemphasized *subjects* at the expense of boys and girls, to the neglect of child nature, so the former is now overemphasizing *vocations*. In both the traditional and the vocational curriculum, the content of the whole is subdivided and parcelled out according to what is believed to be the child's ability at his age—that is, the starting point is the subject or the vocation itself, not the child. Growth, however, is the really important consideration. The vocational curriculum has the advantage in that it involves more action—especially action of body and mind together.

Children have (sometimes) and ought to have a work life, though they may not have a specific work instinct* as they do perhaps, have a play instinct. This work life consists of their active occupations apart from play. The school has a responsibility for the whole work life of children as well as for their play

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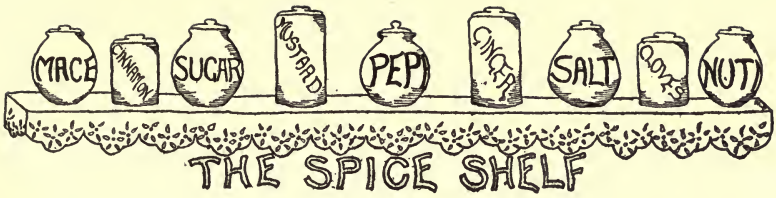
*Constructiveness comes nearest to such an instinct. There are other instincts common to play and work.

life. This responsibility is not limited to the school room or to the school work, which may include manual, prevocational and vocational work. The school should help children to perform better and more profitably and more enjoyably all those tasks away from school that are proper for children to perform. It should enrich the work life of children. It should educate not only *through* work, but *for* work; and not merely for *adult* work but for *children's* work. Children's work, distinguished from child labor, is, where established, "one of the normal and wholesome activities of children," as Meriam says of play. To paraphrase Meriam: "There is great need that the means and manner of working be improved. Such a need gives opportunity and responsibility to the school."

This responsibility of the school for the enrichment of the actual work life of children implies the prior establishment of children's work in place of child labor or the conversion of child labor into children's work. Children's work is a matter of *what* children do; the responsibility above referred to is concerned with the *how* of their doing it. But the school has a responsibility also for *what* children do—whether it shall be child labor or children's work. It has a responsibility, in other words, for the establishing of such work as shall constitute one of the normal and wholesome activities of all children.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than the rather widespread notion that child labor reform is predicated on the assumption that children should have no work whatever to do. It must be said, however, that the belief that children *should* have work is responsible for a good deal of child labor. Though much has been done by society to abolish child labor, little has been done to establish children's work on a proper basis. Society has made no serious constructive attack on the children's work problem, but sooner or later we must come to grips with this problem of children's work. The school has not done its part toward answering the true work needs of children; neither has the home, and the urban home is under a heavy handicap in this regard. Instead of enough children's work we have had too much child labor. As part of the solution of the child labor problem, as a means to the abolition of child labor and the breaking down of opposition to reform, we must give attention to the work that children *should* have and *see that they*

have it. To establish children's work is quite as important as to establish children's play or to abolish child labor. These are all aspects of a single problem.



A social worker is often charged, and sometimes justly so, with fixing his gaze on the dark side of the picture. But he's not the only pessimist. A hotel proprietor in a Rocky Mountain village spent most of his time dwelling upon the evils of his environment, the while he sat on the porch in a rickety chair tilted back against the wall, and spat tobacco juice out into the road. He asked the visiting social worker what his line was and having satisfied his curiosity, gave vent to his feelings in these words: "Well, sir, out here there are more rivers and less water, more cows and less milk, you can look farther and see less, you can work harder and earn less, than in any other d——— state in the Union."

Intelligence, according to psychologists, consists in the ability to come off well from situations.

There was once a little boy who did not seem to be very bright in school. One day he was required to stay after hours to write a list of twelve polar animals. He wanted to go with the boys to the "ol' swimmin' hole," and through the open window he could hear their shouts and laughter. And bye and bye he handed to the teacher a folded paper on which he had written, "six seals and six polar bears." Then he beat it.

Classics that May be Worth Reprinting

Four animals belonging to the cat family are the father cat, the mother cat, and two little kittens.

A mountain pass is a pass given by the railroad to its employees so that they can spend their vacations in the mountains.

Weapons of the Indians: Bow, arrow, tomahawk, and war-hoop.

—*Outlook.*

"Now, children," said the teacher, "I have been talking to you about the duty of cultivating a kindly disposition, and I will now tell you a little story of two dogs. Henry had a nice little dog, gentle as a lamb. He would not bark at the passers-by or at strange dogs, and would never bite. William's dog, on the contrary, was always fighting other dogs, or flying at the hens and cats in the neighborhood; and several times he seized a cow by the nostrils and threw her. He barked at strangers, and would bite them unless some one interfered. Now, boys, which dog would you like to own—Henry's or William's?"

The answer came instantly, in one eager shout:

"William's!"

—*Everybody's.*

The Reverend Sol Broils was preaching what he considered his best sermon, but, for some unaccountable reason, it failed to arouse sufficient interest.

He decided to try his audience on another theme. "Brethren," he shouted, "in dat Glory Land dar ain't gwine ter be no mo' scufflin' fer de good things to eat! Everything gwine ter be fotch to yo'—sassage, spare-rib, chitlin's, 'possum! Think uv dat!"

Old Uncle Bill Franklin, who had been sound asleep, woke up at this point and yelled out fervidly: "Parson, say dem greasy wuhds agin!"

—*Everybody's.*

Vocational Choice

How do people choose their vocations in life? The remark of a certain butcher is illuminating on this point—at least, so far as he is concerned. He was asked one day why he had embraced the butcher business. He scratched his head thoughtfully with his meat axe as he slowly replied: "Well, now, that's pretty hard to tell, but I reckon it must-a been because I always *wuz* fond of animals."

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A National System of Education. Walter Scott Athearn. New York: George H. Doran Company. $1.50.

This book is a plea for a dual system of education: (1) for a national public school system such as might be developed if the Smith-Towner bill were enacted; and (2) a system of religious instruction independent of the public schools in control and support but national in its scope and organized on a parallel basis.

Mr. Athearn's conception of the function of the public schools, is "to prepare our people to sustain a socialized-industrial-democracy." In other words it is through the public schools that the youth of the nation must receive instruction in the various problems, national and international, that confront us and it is likewise in the schools that he must develop the initiative, invention and originality that will enable him effectively to deal with them. To this end Mr. Athearn recommends that the compulsory school age be raised to 18 years, and that the state make it economically possible for children up to that age to remain in school.

Public school education, however, Mr. Athearn believes, tends to become naturalistic and materialistic. The state can not be expected to give religious instruction, but the work of the public schools "must be supplemented by a unified system of religious education which will guarantee the spiritual homogeneity of our democracy." Unless this is established, unless "the church school can pick up the curriculum of the public school and shoot it full of religious meaning" democracy can not be successful. The author, outlines in detail the contemplated plan for the organization and demonstration of such a system of religious education and its relation to the work of the public schools.

Mr. Athearn's fear that our public schools may become materialistic is legitimate. Perhaps they are so already. But, if this be so, it suggests that those in whose power the control of the school lies have a false conception of the purpose of education. It is not due to the lack of religious instruction in the public schools (which Mr. Athearn agrees is out of the question); nor does it indicate a need for imposing upon the children another system of education such as the author suggests. Rather it calls for a change in the atmosphere of the school, a more idealistic and cultured type of teacher and a more vital curriculum. If the work and activities of the school are such that they do actually develop "initiative, invention and originality," which Mr. Athearn points out

as the essential factors in the citizens of a democracy, there need be no fear of a materialistic nation, no demand for a system of religious instruction other than that which each parent chooses for his child.

G. H. F.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CURRICULUM. EXPERIMENTS IN ADAPTATION. Francis W. Parker School Studies in Education. Chicago, Ill.

This volume does not merely add one to the number already published dealing with the application of the teachings of modern child psychology to theories of education. Rather it is a description of the methods by which the Francis Parker School has attempted to establish this relationship and the results which have been obtained in certain classes of this school.

The net impressions left after reading this book are three:

First, that the experiment has been successful in demonstrating the worth of the self-directed individual project theory of education—an impression created not so much by the statements of the children, their parents and their teachers, although these are not without value, but by actual illustrations of the work which the children have done. The aims of this method are defined by the author to be: "To increase intensity of individual action; to preserve individual differences; to train the power of choice; to train the habits of self-direction and of self-stimulation; to train the power of self-judgment; to stimulate the habit of putting one's power at the service of others." Without knowing the children, but by comparing their work with that of children of similar ages in the public schools, it is evident that these objects are being accomplished, not all in each child perhaps, but sufficient to justify continuance of the method.

Second, that it must always be regarded as an experiment—not because of any doubt as to its ultimate success, but because of its very nature. The foundation of this theory, that the child is an individual, precludes any cut-and-dried method of application. Each child is in itself an experiment. Some, perhaps, can not profit by such a method of instruction or may profit only by certain features. Only through constant experimentation and constant study of child psychology can teachers discover how this theory will affect the individual child, and how it must be applied in order that his development will not be one-sided, and yet will give free play to his individuality.

Third, that it is applicable only to experimental or at least exceptional schools. The large public schools of today could not introduce such a method. The classes are too large, the teachers, for the most part, would not comprehend it, and the equipment could not be secured. This, however, is not an indictment of the method. The school exists for the child, and if its plant is unsuitable for the type of study which is of greatest value to the child, it must be changed.

G. H. F.

INDUSTRIAL NURSING. Florence Swift Wright, R.N. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The foreword of this book describes it as a manual to give an idea of the conditions under which the industrial nurse may have to work, and a guide for those without special training to careful self-preparation while engaged in the work. It describes in detail the many varied duties in which the industrial nurse is engaged and gives valuable suggestions for carrying out these activities. The suggestions for meeting the practical problems of gaining the support and good will of the employer and the employee, of conducting first aid in the plant, of friendly helping through home visiting, of records and reports, of lunch-room service and of general public health nursing problems, are well chosen and helpful.

This book probably represents, in a sense, an over-view of the industrial nursing situation as it is today—a hodge-podge of activities that have developed as a result of many kinds of demands. The book does not present a broad view of health service for the industrial worker, but rather considers the problems of the industrial nurse as she is now found in varied lines of activity. The nurse entering this field should by all means study the problem of industrial hygiene in a broad way because she is so oftentimes the pioneer who introduces the industrial leaders to the great possibilities of human engineering.

H. H. M.

TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL SURVEYS. Manuel C. Elmer. Minneapolis: University Printing Company.

Because of its many suggestions as to details of procedure, this volume is unquestionably useful to those who are bent upon making community surveys, but owing to its advocacy of the type of organization and methods which culminated in the late lamented Interchurch Movement's survey, the wisdom of its advice with regard to fundamental matters in this field is at least open to question. A good deal depends in the first place upon one's definition of a survey, and this book gives no clear idea of what it is; in one place it is referred to as an inventory of the community, in another its findings are said to bear much the same relation to the community that (sic) an architect's plans do to the construction of a great industrial plant—and this confusion between the study of conditions and the preparation of a program based upon a knowledge of conditions leaves the reader in doubt about the author's conception of a survey. The scientific value of a scientific survey is urged upon the reader, and this is commendable, so far as it goes, but the reader should be cautioned to apply the scientific method to a consideration of the book itself as well as to the social surveys he may have it in mind to make.

E. N. C.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN PHYSICIANS. New York City: Woman's Press. Six volumes. $3.00.

The program of the International Conference of Women Physicians, called last summer by the Young Women's Christian Association, represented a courageous effort to bring about a free discussion of the fundamental problems—whose solution has not been really sincerely attempted in the past on account of the clouds of convention and theology generally enveloping them. The discussion showed a recognition that the motives of conduct are important factors in health and happiness, and consequently, that problems in human development cannot be solved until the searchlight of science is turned upon the subject of fundamental instincts and motives of behavior. Among the many topics discussed were general health, industrial health, and child health problems, moral codes, personality, prostitution, illegitimacy, venereal disease, and the adaptation of the individual to reality.

The discussions on beauty and hygiene in dress, at the time the conference was in session, called forth much discussion in the press. Dr. Joseph M. Levy's exposition of the short-comings of many members of the dental profession resulted in his expulsion from the Dental Association. The paper by Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle in pointing out the fallacy of certain fundamental ideas regarding sex distinction was a genuine contribution. The hidden motives of behavior and the distortions resulting from repressions were subjects that were dealt with in all the sessions.

It is interesting to note that in recently distributed copies of these proceedings, the Young Women's Christian Association has rubber-stamped a statement that "while the National Board publishes this report, it does not necessarily endorse all opinions expressed therein."

Physicians, psychologists, teachers, and students of social problems will find in the six volumes of proceedings fearless, original, and stimulating presentations of the topics dealt with by persons of such recognized scientific standing as: Dr. William A. White, Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle, Dr. Trigant Burrow, Wilfred Lay, Dr. Horace W. Frink, Dr. Constance Long of London, Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Helen Marot, Dr. E. V. MacCullom, G. Stanley Hall, Drs. Anna Montet and Marguerite Giboulot of France, Dr. Clelia Lellini of Italy, Dr. Alma Sundquist of Sweden, and Drs. Dagney Bang and Reginia Strang of Norway.

EMMA DUKE.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONALITY AND INTERNATIONALISM. W. B. Pillsbury. New York: D. Appleton and Company. $2.50.

This book reflects no less the influence of McDougall and Trotter as original thinkers in social psychology than it does the vigor and independence of Professor Pillsbury. The author modestly says in his preface that the volume represents a compromise between the position of McDougall and that of Trotter, but there is something besides compromise—there is something added that is the author's own—this addition is distinctive.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. Edward A. Ross. New York: The Century Company.

Here is Ross, very nearly complete. The book represents, as he says, *a* system of sociology; he does not attempt to formulate *the* system. It is an arrangement of social data that he has found convenient and serviceable. The treatment, of course, is very strongly psychological. The style, as usual, is flowing and delightful. The book is easy reading. It is also good reading. There may be difference of opinion as to the soundness of the author's views and interpretations; there can be none as to the worth-whileness of this volume, despite its lack of critical detachment.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE TESTS. Prepared under the auspices of the National Research Council, by M. E. Haggerty, L. M. Terman, E. L. Thorndike, G. M. Whipple, and R. M. Yerkes, Chairman. Scale A: Form 1; Scale B, Form 1 (with Scoring Keys, in packages for 25 pupils). $1.60. MANUAL OF DIRECTIONS. 40 cents. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.

These are the army mental tests adapted for use in schools, but their utility is not confined to schools alone. They can be used for determining the mental status of any English-speaking person not above the mental age of the average adult. Scoring has been made unusually simple.

STANDARD EDUCATIONAL TESTS. Arranged and standardized by M. E. Haggerty. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.

These include "Achievement Examination in Reading: Sigma 1"; "Intelligence Examination: Delta 1"; and "Intelligence Examination: Delta 2." Two of these tests are intended for group intelligence testing in the elementary schools and one for testing both intelligence and achievement in reading at the same time. They are based on the army tests.

AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS. Sixth edition, 1920–21. Boston: Porter E. Sargent.

This is a well-known and invaluable handbook which in the present revised and enlarged edition upholds its tradition of excellence. It is full of information for all students of education as well as for parents who are trying to decide to which private school they will send their children. Handbook? Well, it's just what that word implies, except in the matter of size.

SOCIAL LAWS AND AGENCIES OF NORTH CAROLINA. A handbook of Information Compiled by the American Red Cross, Southern Division, in Co-operation with the State Department and he State University of North Carolina.

This loose-leaf volume of classified information covering laws and agencies in the fields of Agriculture, Americanization, Child Welfare, Community and Civic Development, Delinquency, Dependency, Domestic Relations, Education, Family Welfare, Health, Insurance and Pensions, Labor, Mental Defectives and Insane, Taxation, and some other subjects, was primarily designed for the use of Red Cross workers but will prove serviceable to many others engaged in social work. Not only convenient in form the book is undoubtedly accurate in substance, the material having been gathered and edited in cooperation with state and university officials. This is the first of a series of similar state handbooks to be issued by the Red Cross. There is also to be one for the whole United States.

SHOP TALK

I—ABOUT THE "AMERICAN CHILD"

Readers of the AMERICAN CHILD may be interested in what other readers think and say about the magazine. We are pleased most of all that the policy and purposes behind this publication seem to be so well understood. But let us quote from some of the letters we have recently received (some of them appeared in a circular sent to all members of the Committee):

Prof. G. T. W. Patrick, head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology, State University of Iowa, writes in a personal letter to the editor: "I am enthusiastic about the AMERICAN CHILD. The article on 'California the Golden' in the November number would alone awaken one's interest in the all-important work that you are doing. The inductive, scientific spirit in which you are conducting it insures its success. It is a fine field and I wish you the fruit which this kind of work deserves."

We quote below from other letters that have come into the office:

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau: "The AMERICAN CHILD is always interesting. Fresh material and readable presentation characterize its pages and it performs well the invaluable service of popularization. No one should read it who is unwilling to have his sense of responsibility for the children of the nation painfully quickened."

Joseph K. Hart, Author, "Community Organization," etc.; Associate Editor, the "Survey": "The interest you are developing not merely in the work that is being done to correct evils and safeguard children in industry, but the efforts you are making to broaden the general field of interest in child life and education commends the magazine to me very strongly. We are still very negligent in our efforts to understand the wider basis of child life, especially in the realm of childish feeling and appreciation. You have been running some articles recently that are directed to these phases. I hope that while continuing your excellent work for the protection of children from the complications of modern industrial society, you will continue your fine work in exploration and discovery of the still hidden meanings of childhood itself.

Prof. E. C. Lindeman, North Carolina College for Women; Field Secretary, American Country Life Association: "The AMERICAN CHILD is a quarterly journal which covers a wide range of child-welfare interests. Its chief function is, of

course, to give publicity to activities related to the problem of child labor. It contains articles which are scientific in character, but the major portion of its material constitutes a popular interpretation of scientific material. The journal is well edited and contains information valuable to social workers, physicians, physical directors, teachers, school administrators, recreation leaders, legislators, sociologists, employers of labor and all persons interested in child welfare as one of the avenues of social progress. It should be in the libraries of all educational institutions, community libraries, reading rooms, reference libraries, legislative libraries, and its bound volumes should be included in traveling libraries. One edition each year is devoted to the addresses delivered at the annual conference on child labor held under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee. The AMERICAN CHILD constitutes a running history of the theory and practise underlying the child-labor movement." (*Extract from lecture-syllabus for course in Applied Sociology.*)

Paul U. Kellogg, Editor "The Survey": "Members of the *Survey* staff often go foraging in the pages of the AMERICAN CHILD. We find it newsy, interestingly written, fresh. Its standards of accuracy are high and it gives information about conditions affecting children against the larger background of public welfare as a whole."

Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund: "The magazine is high-grade in every particular. . . . The articles are well written. . . . The magazine is most worth-while."

Kenyon L. Butterfield, President, Massachusetts Agricultural College: "I think the AMERICAN CHILD a most admirable expression both of the interests of the American child and of the service of the National Child Labor Committee. I wish it could circulate among farmers as well as other folks."

Arthur F. Lederle, Supervisor of School Attendance, Detroit: "We have just completed a study of available periodicals covering the field of child welfare, as we are about to subscribe for a number of magazines for the use of our investigators. I thought you would be pleased to know that we have placed your magazine, the AMERICAN CHILD, at the head of the list. We did so because it is up-to-date, sensible, and attacks problems at the source. . . . The fearless and impersonal attitude of your investigators also is apparent in the work undertaken by the members of your staff."

Lillian D. Wald, Head Worker, Henry Street Settlement, New York City: "Here at the settlement we often talk about the AMERICAN CHILD. . . . I was particularly impressed with the picture of the Southern child at play. The story made him such a very natural child that I, for one, am glad that the National Child Committee departed from its usual and necessary exhortations and made use of the eternal aspirations in the heart and the muscles of the young. I find myself, accustomed as I am to receiving magazines, leaflets, reports, etc., holding on to the last copy of the AMERICAN CHILD because of some illuminating, interpretative account, and because it seems to be extraordinarily suggestive, even to the jaded mind.

Hastings H. Hart, Director, Department of Child-Helping, Russell Sage Foundation: "I want to congratulate the National Child Labor Committee upon the AMERICAN CHILD, which is full of illuminating material in the field of child welfare. It fills a unique place.

William S. Woods, Editor, the "Literary Digest": "We read your excellent magazine here with great interest and find its material available for quotation in our columns. We wish you every success in the splendid work you are doing through the magazine and otherwise."

Prof. Dwight Sanderson of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, says that: "The AMERICAN CHILD is doing a useful service in calling attention to the conditions of child life in some of our more neglected rural regions and in some of the neglected homes of our more prosperous farming country. Because of the high standard of most farm homes rural people have gained the impression that there are no bad farm homes, and they dislike to admit that there are rural slums as well as urban slums. It is to be hoped that these problems can be gotten before our farm leaders so that they will give them real attention, for rural child labor problems will not be solved except by the country people themselves."

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

How and When Organized

The National Child Labor Committee was organized April 15, 1904, and incorporated by Act of Congress, February 21, 1907. It owes its origin to the coming together of several men and women who, in different parts of the country, had been aroused by what they had seen of child labor in some of its worst forms, and to the publication of census figures showing the great extent of the evil.

Purpose or Object

The object of the Committee is to safeguard American childhood as affected by industrial and agricultural conditions. The enactment and enforcement of progressive legislation and the development of enlightened public opinion are essential features of the Committee's policy. The Committee's effort goes beyond legislation—it goes beyond prohibition to all practicable means and methods of prevention, some of which require legislation and some of which do not. The Committee is vitally interested in the whole problem of premature school-leaving. It is interested, as well, in the establishment of the substitutes for child labor, particularly suitable schooling, suitable play and suitable work—and in this both as a method and as a goal of child labor reform. Not an unoccupied but a well occupied childhood is its aim.

Specific Activities and Services Rendered

The legislative program of the Committee is chiefly concerned with child labor laws, compulsory education laws, mothers' pension

laws, and so-called Children's Codes. Items in the program may be listed as follows: Better child labor laws, better enforced; better school attendance laws, better enforced; better schools with stronger holding power of their own; vocational training, guidance, and placement; health supervision of the child in school and at work; physical examination of applicants for working papers; provision of public recreation facilities for children; children's scholarships, mothers' pensions, and other means of relieving and preventing poverty; all children under 16 in school on full time; all children between 16 and 18 in part-time or continuation schools if not attending school on full time. Throughout its existence the Committee has emphasized the necessity of efficient administration. In the last few years it has devoted much attention to the Children's Code, which represents the attempt, in a given state, to standardize and coordinate the laws and administrative agencies having to do with children and to supply laws and agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes.

The National Child Labor Committee from its inception has based its work on first hand knowledge gained through investigation of the particular phase of child labor under discussion. Such investigations were at first, of necessity, on a small scale, and devoted to a specific issue. Today the Committee has a large staff of trained investigators whose services are placed at the disposal of any community desirous of discovering the truth about itself as regards child welfare in all its numerous and interrelated aspects. Several states have taken advantage of this service, and in cooperation with both public and private agencies, the Committee has made a number of state-wide child welfare studies. These surveys cover such subjects as Public Health, Education, Dependency, Juvenile Delinquency, Institutions, Recreation, Child Labor, Agriculture, Rural Life, and Law and Administration.

Territory Covered

The Committee deals with the child labor problem as a local community problem, as a state problem, and as a national problem. It works throughout the United States.

How Individuals or Communities May Secure Service

By application to the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

Publications or Exhibitions Available for Distribution

The Committee publishes the AMERICAN CHILD, a quarterly magazine of general child welfare. It also publishes various pamphlets and reports, including reports of its State child welfare studies. Photographs, slides and exhibits are furnished.

W. S.
21 Oct 1937
E. Moore